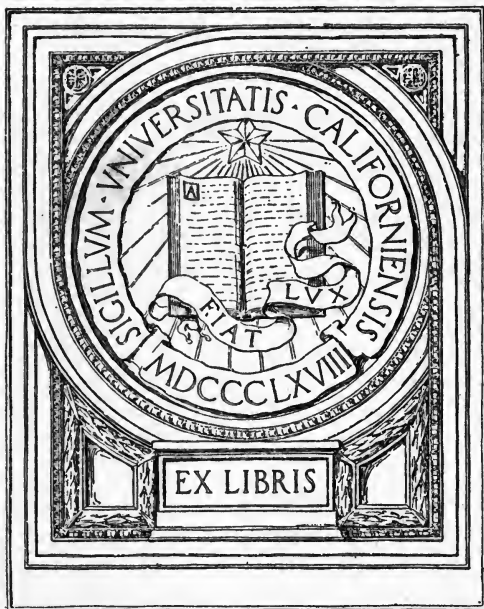




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THE HISTORY OF THE
LAST QUARTER-CENTURY
IN THE UNITED STATES



Lexow
Parkhurst

Goff

Creeden

Reppenhagen

THE LEXOW INVESTIGATION

Scene in the Court Room after Creeden's Confession, December 15, 1894

(As Captain Creeden left the witness stand, after making a full confession of the corrupt practices in vogue among the police, all the spectators crowded forward to shake his hand and congratulate him.)

Drawn by W. R. Leigh from photographs

THE HISTORY OF THE
LAST QUARTER-CENTURY
IN THE UNITED STATES
1870-1895

BY
E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS
PRESIDENT OF BROWN UNIVERSITY

WITH MORE THAN
THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY
ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME II



THE
HISTORY OF THE
UNITED STATES
1870-1895

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
MDCCCXCVI

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THE NEW
AMERICAN

Press of J. J. Little & Co.
Astor Place, New York

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THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY
IN THE UNITED STATES



CHAPTER I

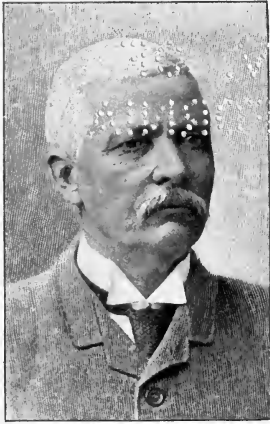
MONROE'S DOCTRINE AND ARTHUR'S PRACTICE

UNCLE SAM IN AFRICA.—THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE OF 1876.—CONGRESS OF 1877.—THE UNITED STATES REPRESENTED.—HENRY M. STANLEY.—HIS CAREER.—HIS FAME.—DARKEST AFRICA.—THE CONGO FREE STATE.—THE UNITED STATES HELPS IN ITS FORMATION.—SCRAMBLE FOR "A PIECE OF AFRICA."—ARTHUR'S POLICY CRITICISED.—BERLIN CONFERENCE OF 1884.—ITS OBJECTS.—ITS RESULTS.—DE LESSEPS AT PANAMA.—ORIGIN OF THE CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY.—ITS PROVISIONS.—ITS RESURRECTION IN 1880.—PRESIDENT HAYES'S ATTITUDE.—BLAINE'S CONTROVERSY WITH LORD GRANVILLE.—FRELINGHUYSEN'S CONTENTIONS.—GREAT BRITAIN'S POSITION.—BLAINE CRITICISED AT HOME.—DE LESSEPS'S FAILURE AT PANAMA.—EARLY PLANS FOR PIERCING THE ISTHMUS.—THE NICARAGUA CANAL SCHEME.—JOYS AND TROUBLES IN NICARAGUA.—CONGRESSMEN FAVOR UNITED STATES AID FOR THE ENTERPRISE.—DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPOSED CANAL.—DIFFICULTIES AND COST.—FEASIBILITY AND PROFITABLENESS.—OPPOSITION.—GROWING INTIMACY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND SPANISH AMERICA.—THE COMMISSION OF 1884.—PANAMA CONGRESS OF 1825.—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS AND CLAY.—LATER EFFORTS AT A PAN AMERICAN UNION.—TREPIDATION AT WALKER'S FILIBUSTERING EXPEDITIONS.—UNION MOVEMENTS IN 1864, 1877, 1880, 1881 AND 1888.—DAVID DAVIS PROPOSES A CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICAN RAILWAY.—FRELINGHUYSEN'S SUGGESTIONS.—THE CONGRESS OF 1889-90.—SCOPE OF ITS POSSIBLE DELIBERATIONS.—THE DELEGATES' "JUNKET" ACROSS THE CONTINENT.—DIFFICULTIES AND MISUNDERSTANDINGS.—THE RECIPROCITY IDEA.—OUTCOME MEAGRE.

IN 1884 occurred an event presaging a change in the time-honored foreign policy of the United States. Our diplomatic representatives took leading part in the Berlin Conference of that year, a conference which dealt with important questions touching the Dark Continent.

In September, 1876, Leopold II., King of the Belgians, had convened at his palace a conference of African travelers, to discuss the best means of opening equatorial Africa. Half a

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



HENRY M. STANLEY

year later a Congress was convoked at the same place, where appeared delegates from Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland and the United States. A committee of three, headed by the King, and including General Henry S. Sanford, of Florida, representing the English-speaking races, recommended the formation of an International African Association, to found "hospitable and scientific" stations in Africa under the association's own flag. A chain of such stations was formed from Zanzibar to Lake Tanganyika.

The royal enterprise was advertised to the world mainly by the labors of Henry M. Stanley. Born in 1841, near Denbigh, Wales, where he was known as John Rowlands, from three years of age to thirteen the lad lived and was schooled inside St. Asaph Poor-house. He later ascribed all his success to the education here received. When sixteen he shipped for New Orleans, where he found a foster-father in a trader named Stanley, whose name he assumed and henceforth bore. At the outbreak of the civil war his energy took a military turn, and the man who was later revered by the Congo blacks as "Father and Mother of the Country," enlisted on the pro-slavery side. He was taken prisoner, escaped at night by swimming a river amid a storm of bullets, and made for Wales, but not to stay. Returning, he enlisted once more, this time in the Federal navy, acting presently as ensign on the flagship *Ticonderoga*. Peace restored, the path of a newspaper correspondent in wild and distant lands attracted the bold fellow; and we find him by turns in Spain, Turkey and Syria.

Stanley's fame was not sealed, however, till James Gordon Bennett, of the New York *Herald*, despatched him to the

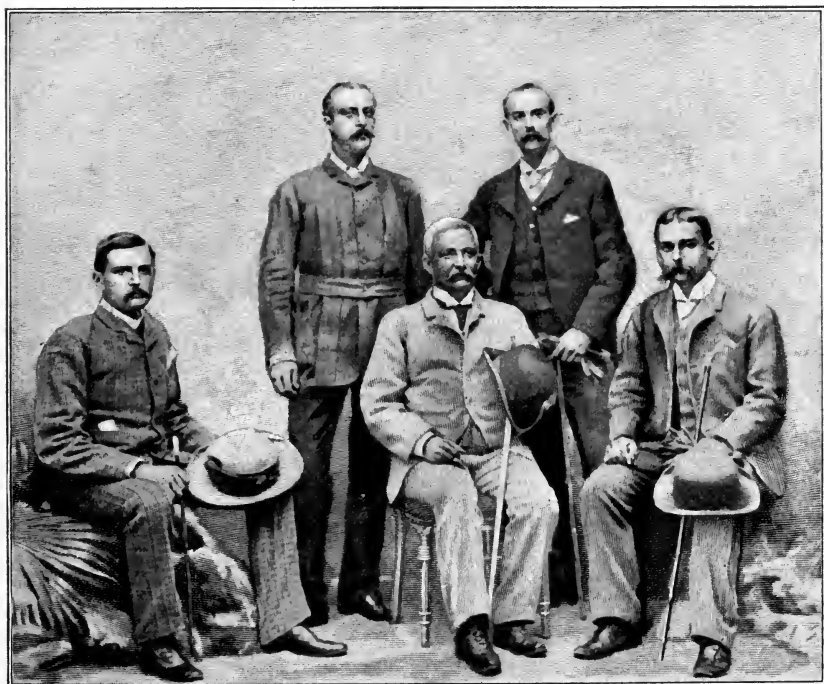
STANLEY TO FIND LIVINGSTONE

Dark Continent to "find Livingstone." More explicit directions would have been impossible at the time, as well as needless and insufferable for Stanley. The new explorer found the old one, who refused to return to civilization before completing his explorations. Livingstone died in Africa, his work still incomplete, but it was taken up and astonishingly supplemented by his strong successor. The Queen sent Stanley a gold snuff-box set with diamonds. France decorated him with the cross of the Legion of Honor. Bismarck entertained him. Leopold II. treated him as if he had been a prince of the blood. The poor-house boy became the most famous man on earth.

After Stanley had discovered the Upper Congo in 1877, "The *Comité d'Etudes* of the Upper Congo," a branch, or

Captain Nelson

Lieut. W. G. Stairs, R. E.



Surgeon T. M. Parke, A.M.D.

Henry M. Stanley

A. J. Mounteney-Jepson

MR. STANLEY AND HIS OFFICERS

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

perhaps a partner, of the International African Association, devoted its labors to that region. In 1884 General Sanford wrote: "This work has developed into extraordinary proportions and has had for practical result the opening up to civilizing influence and to the world's traffic this vast, populous, and fertile region, securing certain destruction to the slave trade wherever its flag floats." The flag—blue, with a golden star in the centre—was as yet unrecognized. The United States, so prominent in the inception of the enterprise, was the first to recognize it. In his annual message for 1883, President Arthur called attention to the work of the association, "of which a citizen of the United States was the chief executive officer." "Large tracts of territory," he said, "have been ceded to the association by native chiefs, roads have been opened, steamboats placed on the river, and the *nuclei* of States established at twenty-two stations under the flag, which offers freedom to commerce and prohibits the slave trade. . . The United States cannot be indifferent to this work nor to the interest of their citizens involved in it. It may become advisable for us to co-operate with other commercial powers in promoting the rights of trade and residence in the Congo valley, free from the interference or political control of any one nation."

The succeeding April the Secretary of State found himself authorized to proclaim "that in accordance with the traditional policy of the United States, which enjoins their careful attention to the commercial interests of American citizens, avoiding at the same time all interference in the controversies engaged in between other powers or the conclusion of alliances with foreign nations, the Government of the United States declared its sympathy with and approbation of the humane and noble object of the International Association of the Congo, acting in the interest of the Free State established in that region, and commanded all officers of the United States, either on land or sea, to recognize the flag of the International Association as that of a friendly government."

AMERICA AND THE BERLIN CONFERENCE

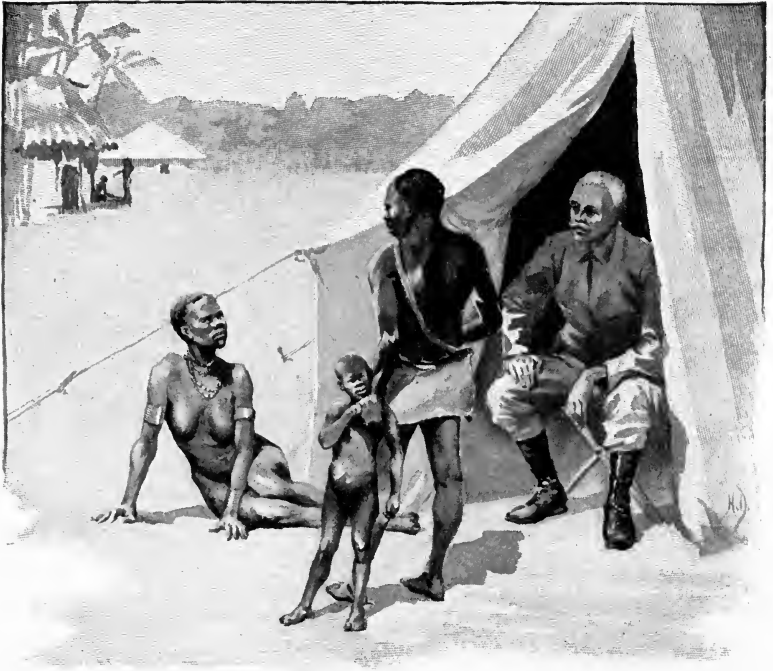
This step was much criticised abroad. The scramble for "a piece of Africa" had begun, and the association, which, unrecognized, might be a cat's paw, once recognized became a rival. France and Portugal, each of whom had her claim (one very ancient, the other just laid, but both much cackled about) to lands occupied by the association, were especially nettled. A French paper petulantly dubbed Uncle Sam the new State's "godfather." Had the claims mentioned been fully conceded the new State would have been left without sea-coast. The adjustment gave to the new-flag nation a coast frontage of from thirty to forty miles north from the Congo estuary, as well as a vast empire of back country. The guarded recognition by the United States at this juncture was, as Stanley said, "the birth unto new life of the association, seriously menaced as its existence was by opposing interests and ambitions." More vital ends than these touching the African continent waited to be attained, appealing to "the commercial interests of American citizens," and to their "sympathy" and "approbation." Besides, Americans had founded Liberia, American missionaries were not few in Africa, a wealthy American journalist had furnished the means for rescuing Dr. Livingstone and a famous American explorer performed the task. All these facts aroused public interest here and led to our participation in the Berlin Conference.

This step was as fiercely criticised at home as our recognition of the blue flag had been abroad. The timid shrieked appeal to the Monroe Doctrine. Our commercial interests in Africa, it was said, were small, even *in posse*. Considered as *disinterested*, the action was denounced as meddling. We should regret it, critics said, when the Nicaragua controversy reached an acute phase. The



JOHN A. KASSON
*The Representative of the United
States at the Berlin Conference*

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



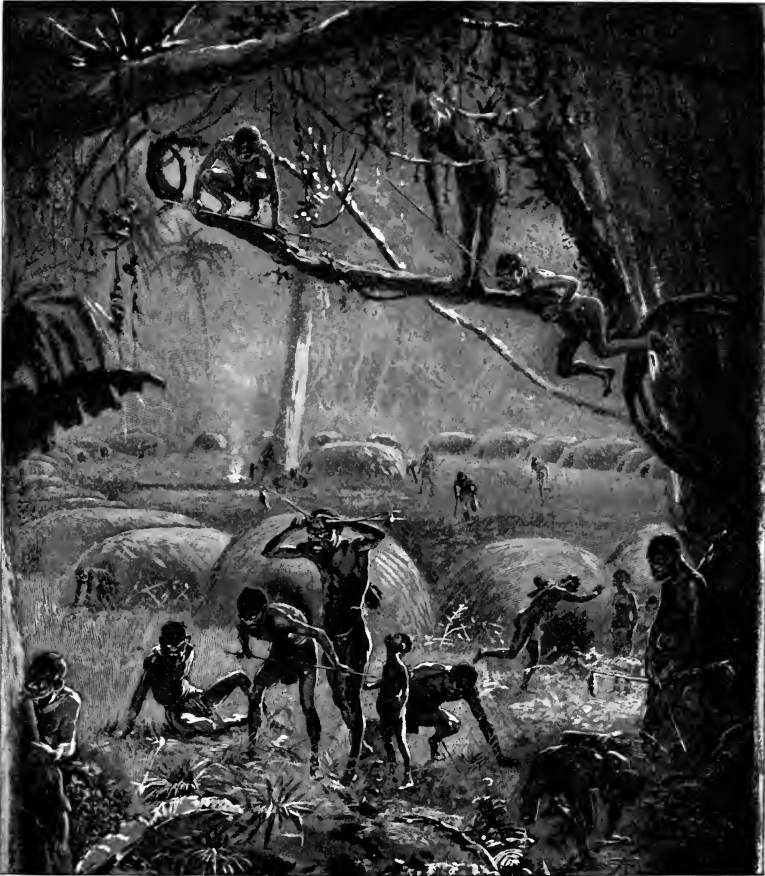
A Pigmy Family in front of Stanley's Tent

correspondent of the *London News* considered the conspicuous part taken by our delegates in the conference an intimation that this country was henceforth to be more active in foreign affairs.

The Conference assembled in November, 1884. It was formally opened by Prince Bismarck, who stated its main objects to be: 1. To secure free navigation and trade on the River Congo. 2. To secure free navigation of the River Niger. 3. To determine the formalities to be in future observed for the valid annexation of territory on the African continent. The neutralization of the Congo and Niger, an American proposition put forward by our delegate, Mr. Kasson, was attained in part, but not perfectly, owing to the opposition of France. The treaty powers promised, in case of war by or against a possessor of Congo land, to lend their good

PURPOSES OF THE BERLIN CONFERENCE

offices to induce both belligerents to keep hands off from the free trade belt, which included much French and Portuguese as well as other territory. In the event of disagreement touching the free trade belt, the powers undertook to resort to mediation before appealing to arms, and reserved the option of proceeding by arbitration. The motion to restrict the sale of liquor in the Congo basin, though introduced by Italy, was also of American origin. It was bitterly assailed by Germany and Holland, but was partly realized afterward when measures were adopted to prevent the introduction of liquor into tracts

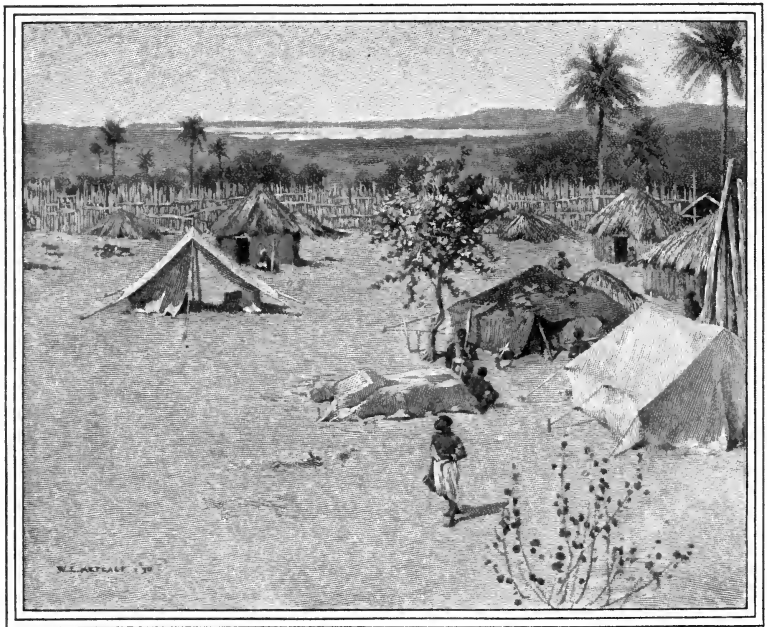


A Pigmy Village Discovered by Stanley in the Great African Forest

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

yet uninfected, or where the Mohammedan religion forbade its use. The United States, with England, joined the enlightened King of the Belgians in securing provisions for the preservation and amelioration of native races, the suppression of slavery and the slave-trade, and the encouragement of all religious, scientific and charitable enterprises, with perfect religious liberty for white and black. Arrangements were made to include the neutralized strip in the Postal Union.

Mr. N. P. Tisdell, appointed by the United States Government to report upon its advantages for American trade, was unfavorably impressed with the country and the character of the natives. Yet subsequent events justified Stanley's asser-



One of Stanley's Stockaded Camps

tion that the course of the United States toward the new sovereignty was "well worthy of the great republic." The aborigines no longer dreaded the merciless Arab slave-raider, for his power was broken. Cannibals who in 1877 assailed

ORIGIN OF THE CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY

Stanley with flights of poisoned arrows soon enlisted in the little standing army of the Free State. The sale of liquor, arms and gunpowder was restricted. Commerce more than doubled the proportions it had when the Conference rose. A railroad around Livingstone Falls was begun and part of it speedily in operation. It is to be said that rumors, for the time impossible either to verify or to refute, reached the press, of outrages upon natives at the hands of Belgian officials, grosser than those which Burke imputed to Warren Hastings.

While the Congo episode was broadening American ideas of the Monroe doctrine, events in Central America led to the emphatic reassertion of that doctrine. M. de Lesseps's ill-starred attempt to ditch the Isthmus of Panama was begun in 1881. The prospect of its success raised anew questions of neutrality and control over land or water routes joining the oceans. During President Taylor's administration the United States had requested Great Britain to withdraw her pretensions to the Mosquito Coast, that Nicaragua and ourselves might join to construct a canal from there to the Pacific. Great Britain declined, but signified her consent to a treaty admitting her to a share in the protection of the proposed canal. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty resulted, having in view, so far as the United States was concerned, the encouragement of a canal enterprise under the so-called "Hise" grant made us by Nicaragua. The treaty declared that neither government should "ever obtain or maintain for itself any exclusive control over the said ship-canal," or "occupy, or fortify, or colonize, or assume or exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast or any part of Central America," the last provision, however, not to apply to the British settlement at Belize. The governments further agreed to "facilitate the construction of the said canal by every means in their power," to protect it and to guarantee its neutrality. The eighth article of the treaty extended the agreement to

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

any other practicable communications, whether by canal or railway, across the isthmus.

The projected canal was never begun, and interest in the subject subsided until after the American Civil War. It was revived by the attempt of France to join us, perhaps with other nations, in guaranteeing the neutrality of the new isthmus route which de Lesseps was designing. On March 8, 1880, in a special message, President Hayes said: "The United States cannot consent to the surrender of control (over an inter-oceanic canal) to any European power or to any combination of European powers." Hayes evidently assumed that the British guarantee mentioned in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty had relation solely to the schemes in mind at that date. He continued: "An inter-oceanic canal across the American isthmus will be a great ocean thoroughfare between our Atlantic and our Pacific shores and virtually a part of the coast line of the United States. No other great power would under similar circumstances fail to assert a rightful control over a work so closely and vitally affecting its interest and welfare." Before the close of the Hayes administration a treaty permitting such control was negotiated with Colombia, but that republic, owing to French influence or finding the treaty distasteful, declined to ratify it.

Secretary Blaine, under Garfield, maintained the same position which his predecessor had assumed. The United States, having guaranteed the neutrality of any route which might be opened across the isthmus, would brook no participation of European nations in this office. The London press cried out at the danger of entrusting the neutrality of one of the greatest commercial routes in the world to a single very strong power and a single very weak one. The American statesmen in time to come could say: "The governments of the two republics are alone parties to the treaty. What they have made they can tear up. The neutrality of the canal is for the time suspended." Mr. Blaine proposed certain modifications

VIEWS OF BLAINE AND FRELINGHUYSEN

of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, made, as it was, under extraordinary and exceptional conditions, and operating, as it would in case of war, to place the canal in the hands of England's navy. He said: "As England insists, by the might of her power, that her enemies in war shall strike her Indian possessions only by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, so the United States will equally insist that the canal shall be reserved for ourselves, while our enemies, if we shall ever be so unfortunate as to have any, shall be remanded to the voyage around Cape Horn."

In declining Blaine's proposition to modify the treaty Lord Granville pointed out the great interest of his country and of the whole civilized world in an unobstructed passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific. He painted "the melancholy spectacle" of "competition among the nations in the construction of fortifications to obtain the command over the canal and its approaches," a consequence apprehended (in other words threatened) by Her Majesty's government, should the United States persist in demanding supreme authority over the canal.

Under Mr. Frelinghuysen, President Arthur's Secretary of State, the controversy assumed a tenor more legal and less journalistic. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty Frelinghuysen thought certainly voidable at our option. It had applied only to inter-oceanic ways definitely contemplated or in prospect in 1850, especially to a canal under the grant of 1849 from Nicaragua, a grant which the United States, "poor in money and floating capital," was unable by herself to make effective. In consideration of the speedy construction of the canal and of Great Britain's withdrawal from adjoining soil, our government had "consented to waive the exclusive and valuable rights which had been given to them, consented to agree with Great Britain that they would not occupy, fortify, colonize or assume dominion over any part of Central America, and consented to admit Her Majesty's government at some future day

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

to a share in the protection which they have exercised over the Isthmus of Panama." But, through Great Britain's fault alone, the proposed canal had never been constructed, while the tolerated mahogany-cutting settlement at Belize had been, in contravention of the treaty, erected into a veritable colony.

Under an international guarantee of neutrality, Mr. Frelinghuysen argued, a canal across the isthmus "would affect this republic in its trade and commerce; expose our western coast to attack; destroy our isolation; oblige us to improve our defences and increase our navy; and possibly compel us, contrary to our traditions, to take an active interest in the affairs of European nations." On the other hand, the political interest of this country as sole guarantor would not necessarily conflict with the material interests of other nations, to whose free use the canal would still be open. International agreements of the kind proposed by Lord Granville our Secretary declared in peace useless, in times of dissension unenforceable.

The discussion was, for the time, closed at the end of 1882, when the British Secretary announced England's conclusions as follows: "The meaning and effect of article VIII" (as widening the scope of the treaty and establishing a general principle) "are not open to any doubt; the British Government has committed no act in relation to British Honduras or otherwise which can invalidate that treaty and justify the United States in denouncing it; and no necessity exists for removing any of the provisions of that treaty."

Many pronounced our opening of this question unwise, a foolish manifestation of a "jingo" policy. Mr. Blaine's spirited manner in the discussion was particularly reprehended. The criticism was unjust. The imbroglio was not of Mr. Blaine's creation, but came to him with the State portfolio from Secretary Evarts, upon whom it had been thrust by the action of Colombia, incited by France. Mr. Blaine's despatches upon the subject, perhaps less able than those of

THE FRENCH FAIL AT PANAMA

Evarts or those of Frelinghuysen, and almost dangerously bold in tone, yet took the only ground which a patriotic American Secretary of State could have assumed. Had Mr. Blaine been as reckless as many thought him, he would have moved to denounce the treaty forthwith and risk the consequences; but the time had not come for that.

Though international control in the isthmus made no headway, capital for Panama was lavishly provided, not by rich Frenchmen, but by the middle classes, who would have grudged their savings had not the enterprise been for the glory of France. The French press grew more and more sanguine. Little by little, reluctantly acknowledging the task greater than expected, M. de Lesseps kept calling for new support, and at some rate or other kept getting it. He continued to color the Panama horizon a roseate hue, but it was sunset and not sunrise. At the end of 1888 night fell upon the hopes of his dupes, while day broke upon their senses. Panama was fatally malarial; the cost of excavation was greater than supposed; the total amount of it not far from twice as large. The great cut through Culebra



FERDINAND DE LESSEPS

Pass was said to have unsettled the very mountain and to have caused it to tilt toward the canal. A dam more than a mile long to restrain the Chagres in flood time was started, but abandoned. Gross mismanagement marked every turn. Interest was paid out of capital stock. Locomotives ordered from Belgium were of the wrong gauge and could be seen rusting by the railway tracks. Worst was the unparalleled corruption resorted to by the desperate directors to keep the facts from publicity, endeavors which utterly failed. The populace of Paris were furious at the cumulative revelations. Over a

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

hundred members of the national Legislature were smirched, five ex-ministers being among those arrested. The chief culprits, including M. de Lesseps himself, were given heavy sentences; the rest were acquitted. In Panama they knew little of all this, but still lamented the departure of "canal times" as they contemplated the gash which not quite cut their isthmus.

So early as the middle of the sixteenth century a Portuguese navigator projected four possible routes for an inter-oceanic canal on the western hemisphere, at Darien, Panama, Nicaragua, and Tehuantepec. In 1779 Lord Nelson seized the mouth of the San Juan as preliminary to the control of the waterway. In 1823 the President of Nicaragua invited the attention of the United States to the possibilities of this route, and renewed negotiations led in 1849 to the formation of a company in this interest, in which Commodore Vanderbilt was a stockholder. The doings of filibuster Walker put an end to that plan. Several surveys made after the war indicated that, should a lock canal be contemplated, the Nicaragua route was better than any other. Preferring a tide-water enterprise like the Suez Canal however, the enthusiast de Lesseps pursued the Panama chimera. The failure of any tide-water scheme being probable, the Nicaragua proposal reappeared as a rival to the Panama project.

Treaty arrangements initiated in 1884 between the United States and the Nicaraguan Republic looking toward an inter-oceanic canal, failed of consummation, as President Cleveland, taking office in 1885 and dissenting from the opinion of his predecessor, feared that such a scheme would lead to more embarrassments than benefits. In 1887 Nicaragua and Costa Rica granted to a private association of United States citizens the right, for themselves or their assigns, to build a trans-Nicaraguan canal. In 1889 "The Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua" succeeded to these rights agreeing to expend \$2,000,000 the first year and to complete the canal

“CANAL TIMES” IN NICARAGUA



Machine Shop and Railroad Camp Number 1, showing one of the Dredges at Work on the Nicaragua Canal

by 1900, though it, in fact, went little further than to make preliminary surveys and estimates.

In 1891 a construction company, of which Hon. Warner Miller, of New York, was president, undertook the building operations. In the same year an attempt was made, without success, to get the United States to guarantee \$100,000,000 of the company's bonds. "Canal times" in Nicaragua made the little republic tingle with speculative fever. The government revelled in extravagance and waste, but was in the midst of its debaucheries cut off by a revolution, or rather by a complicated series of domestic and foreign troubles, that for the time smothered peaceful enterprise. In 1896 a commission of experts appointed by our Government made a report discouraging to the hopes of the promoters, spite of which the bill for lending the Government credit to the enterprise mustered numerous and influential supporters in both Houses of our Congress.

At the Caribbean port a breakwater was to be built and the harbor deepened. The length of the proposed route was about 170 miles. For 121.1 miles ships were to pass through the lake and through rivers, for 21.5 through dammed basins, for 27 through channels excavated at the eastern and

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

western divides. From Greytown westward to the foot hills a sea-level canal 9.25 miles long was to be maintained. Thence three locks about 650 feet long and 65 feet wide would advance the vessel a mile or two and raise it 106 feet. Three to five miles beyond, the eastern divide loomed up, requiring amputation, the average depth to be 141 feet, the length 2.9 miles. Here the San Francisco and Machado were to carry the vessel 12 miles, entering the San Juan above a huge dam. This river leads to Lake Nicaragua, 64.5 miles farther on, through which the ship's path would extend for a distance of 56.5 miles. The levels here were to be raised four feet. The western divide must be channelled for 11.2 miles; beyond for 5.5 miles a basin would be formed by penning the water in natural valleys. The descent thence to tide-water was meant to be accomplished by three locks, the last a tidal lock a mile and a half from the ocean. Finally,



THE CLEARING FOR THE NICARAGUA CANAL

Looking West from Camp Daly across Laguna Benard

DESCRIPTION OF PROPOSED CANAL



A Giant Silk-cotton Tree in the line of the Canal Clearing

a harbor must be made on the Pacific. The minimum depth of the canal was to be 30 feet; the width sufficient, except at the divides, for two ships to pass each other.

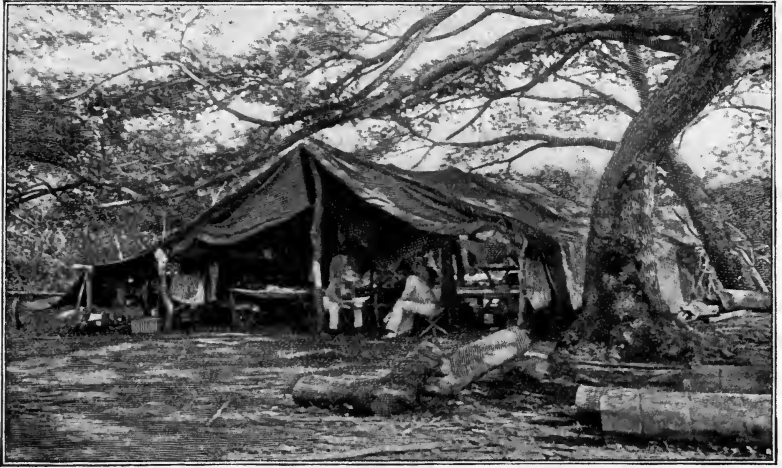
No one doubted that the cost of construction must be large, perhaps exceeding careful

estimates. Twenty-seven miles, or 10,000,000 cubic yards, of excavation were required, also 21.5 miles of basins, constructed by means of enormous dams. A shoal fourteen miles long on the east of Nicaragua Lake would have to be dredged and kept clear. Geologists said that basaltic lavas predominated underneath this as well as under the Panama route. Dams were required to cross the San Juan and the Tola, each nearly 2,000 feet long by 70 high, and one 3.25 miles long and 60 feet high to cross the San Carlos.

That, after all, a canal upon this route could be created and operated seemed beyond question. That it would be politically valuable and its operation profitable from a business point of view also appeared quite clear. In an address to the public the Canal Company said: "The nation that controls this canal under terms of amity with Nicaragua will here find rest and refreshment for its fleets and a *point d'appui* from which either ocean may readily be reached in case of need."

According to the Statesman's Year Book, the Panama Railroad had, in 1885, £17,000,000 worth of traffic. The Canal Company estimated the cargoes which, had it been in

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



Engineer Camp of the Nicaragua Railway on the West Side

existence, would have sought their canal, at 2,671,886 tons in 1879, at 4,507,044 in 1887, and at 7,616,904 in 1895. Reviewing the above figures, Mr. G. E. Church, who found the actual traffic of the Suez Canal to be but 52 per cent. of the possible, calculated the probable, as distinguished from the possible, number of ships which would have used the Nicaragua Canal, and thought that in 1880 it would have borne 1,625,000 tons of freight, valued at £32,136,000. Crediting the Nicaragua Canal with every vessel that might by its means have made a saving of distance, 2,818 ships would, in 1880, have passed through it, carrying 2,938,386 tons of cargo. According to an article in the *Saturday Review* of March 16, 1895, the probable yearly traffic had been estimated as high as 8,122,093 tons, but the writer himself deemed 3,500,000 tons a more likely figure.

Notwithstanding its political importance and its great financial promise, the undertaking progressed but slowly. Against it was on all occasions manifested in Congress and in the press the opposition of the transcontinental railways. The necessity of increasing the navy should the canal be built and placed under our guaranty of neutrality was also powerfully

UNION OF THE AMERICAS

urged. Possible, or, as was alleged, certain complications with foreign powers formed a giant objection with many. A few, perhaps, gave a pro-British interpretation to the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.

Discussion upon the great canal scheme was by no means the sole indication that our relations with our southern neighbors tended to grow closer. In 1884 Congress provided for, and the President appointed, a commission of three to "ascertain the best modes of securing more intimate international and commercial relations between the United States and the several countries of Central and South America." After conferring with leading merchants and manufacturers in this country, and making an extensive tour of Latin America, the Commissioners in 1884-85 recommended an international American conference to promote commercial intercourse and to prepare some plan of arbitration for controversies between the states of the American continents.

The idea of such a congress was not new. Bolivar conceived it before 1820. The threatening Holy Alliance, or "Holy League," as John Quincy Adams called it, caused the young Spanish-American republics in 1826 to huddle together in a congress at Panama. President John Quincy Adams and Clay, his Secretary of State, wished our Government to be represented there; but delays by the slave-power, morbidly sensitive in dealing with countries which had emancipated their slaves so early as 1813, made the Administration's efforts abortive. It is worthy of notice that reciprocity, as it is now called, was one of the subjects which President Adams suggested for discussion at this Panama convocation. That congress came to nothing. Vain, also, were Mexico's sedulous efforts in 1831, 1838, 1839 and 1840 to create a congress of Spanish America. When in 1847 Mexico's fears of North American aggression were realized, Bolivia, Chile, Equador, New Granada and Peru met in Lima, allowing other American republics to join them, and going so far as to invite the United States. In 1856, again,

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

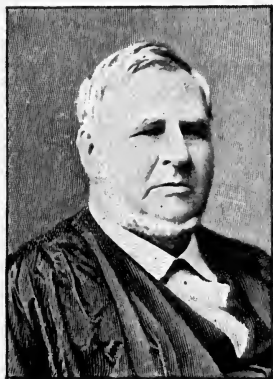
Walker's filibustering frightened Peru, Chile and Equador into signing a treaty of confederation and endeavoring to get other adherents, while anxious conferences were held among Spanish-American ministers in Washington. In 1862 Costa Rica, communicating with Colombia, doubtless voiced the prevalent South American impression "that the cessation of the Vandalic filibustering expedition of 1855 and of the following ones till 1860 was due to intervention, although tardily carried into effect, on the part of Europe." This was a curious commentary on the Monroe Doctrine. The despatch added: "If our republics could have the guaranty that they have nothing to fear from the United States of North America, it is indubitable that no other nation could be more useful and favorable to us. Under the shelter of her powerful eagles, under the influence of her wise institutions and under the spur of her astonishing progress our newly born nationalities would receive the impulse which they now need, and would be permitted to march with firm step, without experiencing the troubles and difficulties with which they have had to struggle. . . A new compact might be draughted by which the United States of North America should bind themselves solemnly to respect and cause others to respect the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the sister republics of this continent; not to annex to their territory, either by purchase or by any other means, any part of the territory of the said republics; not to allow filibustering expeditions to be fitted up against the said nations, or to permit the rights of the latter to be in any way abridged or ignored. Resting upon a treaty of this kind, our republics would admit . . the idea of an intimate alliance with the North American people."

In 1864 Peru bade the Spanish nations to another conference, the United States not being invited because, as Peru alleged, "their policy was adverse to all kinds of alliances, and because the natural preponderance which a first-class power, as they are, has to exercise in the deliberations might embarrass

A RAILROAD TO CAPE HORN

the action of the congress." In 1880 a congress proposed for the next year to secure the adoption of arbitration on this hemisphere, was prevented by the breaking out of war between Chile and Peru and Bolivia, Mexico, also, about the same time, having trouble with Guatemala. A similar proposition on the part of the United States in 1881, for November, 1882, came to naught, owing to the continuance of the same hostilities. In 1877 and in 1888 occurred congresses of Spanish-American jurists to amend the international law of the South American Continent.

In 1880 there began in the United States a series of steps which in course of time led to the Pan-American Conference of 1889 and 1890. In 1880 Senator David Davis projected the preliminaries for an immense international line of railroads running at the foot of the great mountain chain through Mexico, Central America and South America, with branches to the main Pacific seaports. Bills of the same tenor were subsequently introduced by Senators Morgan, Sherman and others. There were also propositions for special commissioners to visit Central and South America. At the first session of the Forty-eighth Congress a joint resolution was introduced requesting the President to invite the co-operation of American governments in securing the establishment of an American customs-union.



DAVID DAVIS

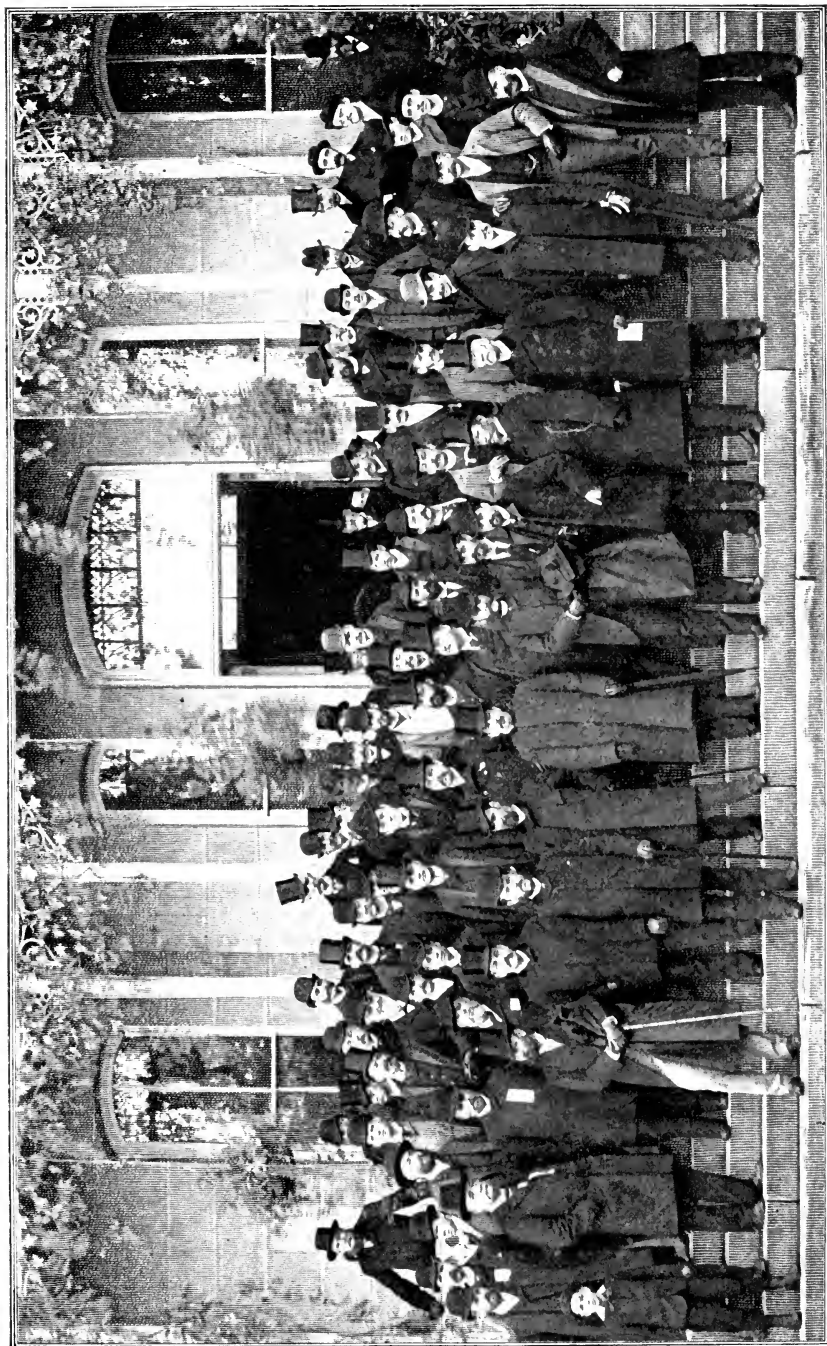
Instead of immediate steps toward an international conference to promote commerce and peace, which were contemplated by Congress, Secretary Frelinghuysen recommended a commission to visit Central and South America, suggested a series of reciprocity treaties as the natural mode of developing our commerce with Latin America, and intimated that "it would be advantageous and probably practicable to agree

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upon a common silver coin equal in value, say, to our gold dollar, or to some other appropriate standard, which, under proper regulations as to coinage, etc., should be current in all the countries of this continent." Renewed efforts in these various directions resulted in adopting the recommendation of the Commission, and a conference was invited. The act authorizing it permitted in it the discussion of measures (1) for the prosperity of the several states, (2) for an American customs-union, (3) for regular and frequent communication, (4) for a uniform system of customs regulations, (5) for a uniform system of weights and measures, patents, copyrights, trade-marks and extradition, (6) for the adoption of a common silver coin, and (7) for arbitration. The programme also allowed some canvass of miscellaneous subjects.

Before the organization of the Conference, the delegates, starting on October 3, 1889, were carried by rail on a trip nearly 6,000 miles long, visiting forty-one cities, from Boston to St. Louis and back, and inspecting the principal iron and steel manufactories of Pennsylvania. Elaborate receptions were accorded them everywhere. In two great factory towns they were greeted by brass bands made up from among the operatives. At one place a natural-gas well was fired for their edification, and its hues made to change by the ingenious injection of chemicals. This well-meant entertainment, besides being—such the Spanish-American temperament—a hardship to the delegates, seemed to some of them a piece of ostentatious braggadocio, precisely the assumption of superiority by the United States which they had come prepared to find. Early in the progress, Senor Quintana, of the Argentine delegation, disengaged himself from the other gentlemen and returned to Washington.

A variety of circumstances helped ruffle the serenity of the proceedings. The difference between our Spanish-American guests and ourselves, in language, in blood, and in ideas of etiquette, caused misunderstandings. An interpreter was



THE SPANISH-AMERICAN DELEGATES TO THE PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE

From a Photograph by Ryder, at Cleveland, Ohio

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MISUNDERSTANDINGS IN THE CONFERENCE



The House in Washington where the Pan-American Conference Held its Meetings

required, as only one of the United States delegates, Mr. Flint, spoke Spanish, and only one other, Mr. Trescot, read it, while several Latin-American members did not know English. The contrast between the Anglo-Saxon and the Spanish procedure usual in such assemblages was vast, occasioning unpleasant feelings which could be reconciled only by yielding to the South American preference. Reciprocity was among the aims of the Congress. Argentina suggested reciprocity in 1875 and again at this Conference. But a United States reciprocity treaty with Mexico had fallen through in 1883, which led delegates to doubt whether the United States earnestly desired reciprocity. This distrust was unfortunately increased by the McKinley Tariff Bill, then in its earlier stages, before its excellent reciprocity provisions had been attached.

Lack of harmony was not wholly due to jealousy or fear of the United States. Chile wished the Conference confined to commercial and economic instead of political questions. Because of an unratified reciprocity treaty with her, San Domingo declined to send delegates. Hawaii, invited late, could not accept

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in time to take part in the deliberations. Among the states represented the smaller were, as a rule, more effusive than the larger in responding to the invitation. The guest-states, too, had their mutual jealousies. Guatemala was distrustful of Mexico. Bolivia and Peru tended to favor Argentina, as against victorious Chile. The five Central American States were at odds over the terms of a suggested alliance among themselves, while Nicaragua and Costa Rica had the proposed canal for an additional bone of contention.

Though not a delegate, Secretary Blaine was elected president of the Conference. He had desired the earlier conference, proposed for 1882, to confine its attention to the subject of arbitration, and he was particularly emphatic now in urging the same. Chile did not favor the idea; Mexico and Argentina only in a restricted sphere. A formal treaty was signed by most of the delegates, but it came to nothing. The most permanent concrete result of the Conference was the Bureau of American Republics, maintained at Washington, to disseminate information regarding the Latin-race countries on this side of the Atlantic.

CHAPTER II

“FARTHEST NORTH”

THE JEANNETTE EXPEDITION.—ITS OFFICERS.—ITS PLAN.—THE START.—SUSPENSE AND SEARCH.—RUMORS.—TIDINGS AT LAST.—COURSE AND FATE OF THE EXPEDITION.—MELVILLE FINDS NINDEMAN AND NOROS.—DELONG’S END.—HIS JOURNAL.—NEW POLAR RESEARCH.—THE GREELY EXPEDITION.—THE PROTEUS’S PASSAGE OUT.—THE NEPTUNE’S EFFORT AT RELIEF.—THE GARLINGTON CRUISE IN 1883.—WRECK OF THE PROTEUS.—GREELY MEANTIME.—EXPEDITION OF 1884.—SCHLEY’S ENTERPRISE.—“NEWS FROM GREELY.”—HIS DISCOVERIES.—“FARTHEST NORTH.”—EXPERIENCES OF HIS BAND IN THE ARCTIC REGIONS.—THEIR COURSE SOUTHWARD.—COULD ANY OF THEM BE ALIVE?—THE THETIS TO THE RESCUE.—SEVEN STARVING SURVIVORS.—LIFE AT STARVATION CAMP.—EFFORTS FOR THE ENGLISH MEAT.—RICE’S DEATH AND FREDERICK’S HEROISM.—THE DEATH ROLL.—RESCUE OF THE SEVEN.—THEIR CONDITION.—HOMEWARD BOUND.—ARRIVAL.—NO OFFICIAL PRAISE.—THE SURVIVORS SUBSEQUENTLY.—PEARY ON GREENLAND’S ICY MOUNTAINS.—HE CROSSES GREENLAND IN 1892.—GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES.—PEARY’S 1894-5 TOUR.—VALUE OF THESE EXPLORATIONS.

*Do the classic virtues grace an age of commonplace ?
The cynics of our time will tell you No.
To the ancients they will turn heroic deeds to learn,
But, take a soldier’s sword, it is not so.*

THAT the cynics are wrong was impressively shown by Stanley’s deed in darkest Africa, touched in the last Chapter of this History. Two other exploits more thrilling still illustrated President Arthur’s years in office. The first was the *Jeannette* expedition to the North, equipped by James Gordon Bennett, Stanley’s patron, but sailing under orders from the Navy Department. This expedition went forth in the summer of 1879, but its glory and its fate were not known till more than two years later. The vessel, of some four hundred tons burden, was strongly re-enforced to prevent her

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being crushed in the ice. The crew as ultimately constituted comprised thirty-three men, including two Chinamen and two Indians. The officers were Captain George W. DeLong, U. S. N., commanding; Lieutenant Charles W. Chipp, U. S. N., Second Officer; Master John W. Danenhower, U. S. N., Executive Officer; Passed Assistant Engineer George W. Melville, U. S. N., an officer reluctantly spared by the department, and Passed Assistant Surgeon James M. Ambler, U. S. N. William Dunbar, an experienced Yankee whaler, was ice pilot, Jerome J. Collins meteorologist and *Herald* correspondent, and Raymond L. Newcomb naturalist. The last three, as a matter of form, enlisted as seamen.

It was DeLong's design to follow the warm ocean current through Behring Strait, possibly to the Pole, at least to Wrangel Land, which was set down on the maps as an enormous continent reaching to the Pole and possibly connecting with Greenland. The thought was that the expedition could crawl along this coast far to the north, and, when finally stopped by sea, could with sledges make a triumphant dash for the Pole.

Watched and cheered by crowds on shore and attended by a squadron of pleasure craft, the *Jeannette*, on July 8, 1879, slowly and proudly steamed toward the Golden Gate of California, beyond which the sparkling waves of the Pacific seemed to be beckoning. "Every ship we passed," wrote DeLong, "dipped her colors to us, while shouts, steam-whistles, and yachts' cannon-shots kept the air filled with noise. Upon passing Fort Point a salute of twenty-one guns was fired in our honor, while the garrison of the fort cheered us enthusiastically." No wonder that officers and men were in jubilant spirits.

At Ounalaska on August 2d a quantity of furs was taken aboard. At Lutke Harbor, on August 27th, last messages were sent home as the *Jeannette* parted from the *Fannie A. Hyde*, her convoy and coal-tender. On September 3d an adventurous whaler saw her afar, nosing her way toward Herald Island.

RUMORS ABOUT THE JEANNETTE

Next year the revenue cutter *Corwin*, Captain Hooper commanding, approached Herald Island and Wrangel Land, but saw no traces of the explorers. In 1881 anxiety grew keener. Lieutenant Berry, of the *Rogers*, following the *Jeannette's* route, scrutinized the coast of Wrangel Land. Captain Hooper also made a landing there. Neither obtained tidings of the lost ship. The *Alliance*, from Norfolk, sailing by the Spitzbergen route, was not more successful. Two new polar expeditions, one of which, that under Lieutenant A. W. Greely, will presently be described, were, incidentally to their main purpose, cautioned to look out for the missing men. Foreign exploring ships assumed a like charge. Although the marble ocean kept her secret well, rumors were at everybody's service. A steamer's smoke, forsooth, had been seen off the Lena Delta; white shipwrecked sailors were struggling up the Mackenzie River in North America; European corpses had been found at the mouth of the Yenisei. It was conjectured that DeLong had indeed reached the Pole. The canard was also started that Siberians had boarded the *Jeannette* and found everybody well, very much surprised at being the objects of such solicitude.

Amid these wild pitches of fancy, the truth, more startling than any of them, was conveyed to the world on December 20, 1881, by the following telegram from the American *Chargé d'Affaires* at St. Petersburg to the American Secretary of State:

"The *Jeannette* was crushed in the ice June 11th, latitude 77 degrees, longitude 157 degrees. Crew embarked in three boats and were separated by the wind and fog. Number three, with eleven men, Engineer Melville com-



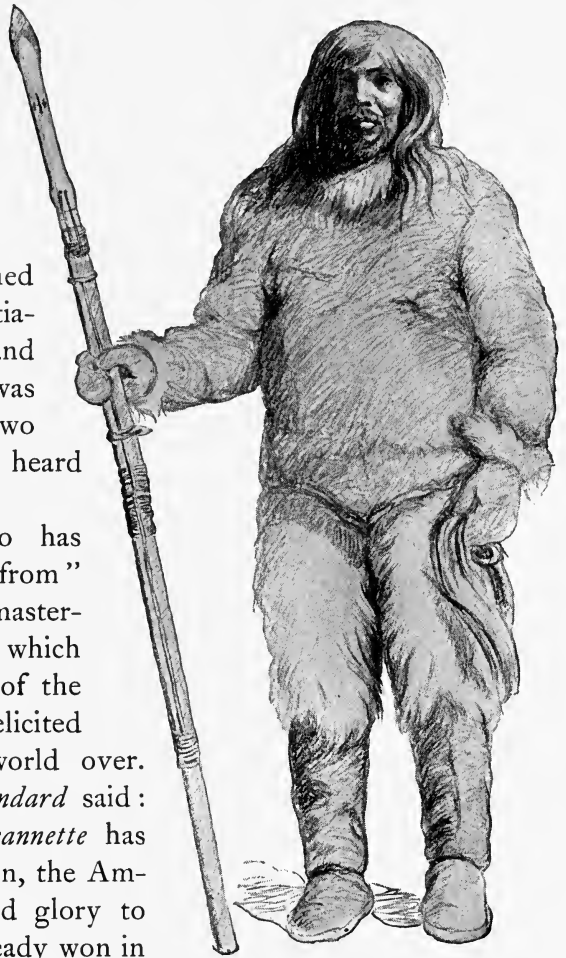
AN ESKIMO BOY

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

manding, reached the mouth of the Lena September 19. Subsequently Number one, with Captain DeLong, Dr. Ambler and twelve men, reached the Lena in a pitiable condition and prompt assistance was sent. Number two has not been heard from."

"Number two has not been heard from" to this day. The masterful seamanship which saved even a part of the crew from death elicited admiration the world over. The *London Standard* said: "Though the *Jeannette* has suffered destruction, the Americans have added glory to that they have already won in the frozen regions." Captain DeLong's first alternative, of

following the Japan current possibly to the Pole, was balked by the ice-pack which he entered shortly after he was last sighted, and on September 6th, the next day, he found himself glued in. The second alternative, of drifting to Wrangel Land and following that continent to the Pole, was seen to be impossible when, to the men's dismay as they drew near, it shrivelled to an insignificant island. From the time she



AN ESKIMO HUNTER WITH HARPOON
(Mek-to-Sba: Great Bear Hunter)

THE JEANNETTE'S MEN SCATTERED

entered the pack the *Jeannette* was unfettered for only a few hours. Nearly two years later, June 11, 1881, she had to be abandoned, and she sank early on the morning of the 12th. With a heavy sick list and otherwise encumbered, the company in three squads toiled over the ice, struggling to get southward.

At the end of a fortnight they found themselves farther north than when they started, indeed, farther north than living man had ever before gone in that sea. The position was $77^{\circ} 36' \text{ N.}$, 155° E. To the weary mariners either land or sea was more welcome than the ice, and about the middle of July land loomed into view. It was an island. Two days later they took possession of it for the United States and christened it Bennett Island. Here it was possible for them, on August 6th, to take to the three boats, the first cutter with Captain DeLong and his little crew of men, the second cutter with Lieutenant Chipp and his men, and the whaleboat with Engineer Melville and his men. On August 19th the three wretched companies, over ice and water, barefooted and barelegged, reached the New Siberian Islands, to which they clung till September 10th, when they were within ninety miles of Cape Barkin, and happy in the thought. About seven o'clock that night there was an arctic gale, and the boats were blown apart like tufts of thistledown. As the whaleboat, the fastest of the three, went racing down the wind, members of her crew, looking back, dimly saw the second cutter rise to the crest of a billow, sink, rise again, then, enveloped in an immense sea, sink to be seen no more. DeLong's crew at the same time lost sight of the whaleboat, and thought that she shared the same fate. Melville, in like manner, when he himself landed at one of the eastern mouths of the Lena Delta, could hardly hope that any of the DeLong party had escaped the sea. A few days later his own squad reached a Russian settlement. On receiving news that there were DeLong survivors, Melville hastened to Belun, where he

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

found two seamen of the DeLong crew, Nindeman and Noros, on the verge of starvation. They had been sent ahead for relief, and, as it chanced, were the only ones of the party who survived. "Hallo, Noros!" was Melville's cheery greeting, as he pushed his way into their sorry hovel, "how do you do?" "My God! Mr. Melville," exclaimed Noros, "are you alive?" Rising from a rude couch, Nindeman said: "We thought you were all dead, and that we were the only two left alive; we were sure the whaleboat's men were dead, and the second cutter's, too."

Pressing northward, with only native guides, in spite of badly frozen feet and legs, and in imminent risk of starvation on the way, the intrepid Melville sought the trail of DeLong's unfortunate party, but it was not till the next March that he was able to get traces of them. All hope of finding them alive had then vanished. On the 23d of March, amply provided with the means for his search, the Chief Engineer finally discovered the bodies of Captain DeLong and his gallant comrades-in-death. They were lying on an island in the Lena Delta, which had cruelly enmeshed them the autumn before. Perhaps the saddest feature of their tragedy was the fact that they perished within ten miles of succor. It was decided not to move the remains to America, but to bury them at the Delta on a high promontory out of reach of the floods. "There," said Melville, "in sight of the spot where they fell, the scene of their suffering and heroic endeavor, where the everlasting snows would be their winding-sheet and the fierce polar blasts which pierced their poor unclad bodies in life would wail their wild dirge through all time—there we buried them, and surely heroes never found fitter resting-place."

The journal kept by DeLong, known as the "Ice Journal," was happily recovered by Melville. The Captain had maintained it to the very day of his death. Nothing can exceed the heart-breaking pathos of his last entries, which merely

CAPTAIN DELONG'S END

chronicle the succumbing of his comrades and the number of the day—one more since the wreck, one less before his end. His last conscious act, apparently, had been to throw the book behind him as of no more use. Even as he turned back for this the rigor of death and of freezing invaded his body, which was found lying upon the side, the arm uplifted above the snow and the elbow bent.

The issue of DeLong's disastrous enterprise was not known in time to quench the ardor with which new polar investigations were carried on in 1881. Lieutenant Weyprecht, of Austria-Hungary, had, in 1875, proposed a series of co-operating stations for magnetic and meteorological observations near the North Pole. Lieutenant Howgate, of our Signal



Map of the Arctic Regions, showing Location of Circumpolar Stations, 1881-1883

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

Service, had long advocated polar colonization in the interest of geographical science. Several nations, the United States among them, were moved to attempt polar discovery.

In 1881 we established two stations, one of them on Lady Franklin Bay, to be manned by Lieutenant A. W. Greely, Fifth United States Cavalry, with a party of twenty-two officers and soldiers, and two Eskimos. The *Proteus* bore Greely and his men from St. John's, Newfoundland, the early part of July, 1881. Beyond the northernmost Greenland settlement, through the treacherous archipelago, between the "land ice" and the "middle pack" of Melville Bay, amid the iceberg squadrons of Smith Sound and Kane Sea, the stanch little sealer kept her course. Eight miles from her destination she was for the first time blocked. A solid semicircle of ice confronted her, reaching clear across from Greenland to Grinnell Land. Large floes broke off and passed her, only to re-form and cut off her retreat, while the northern pack, advancing, threatened to crush her. Upon new caprice, however, the upper ice retired toward the polar ocean, and on the 11th the little army disembarked, one



LIEUTENANT A. W. GREELY
From a photograph by Rice

thousand miles north of the Arctic Circle. A fortnight later the *Proteus* whistled farewell and began her return trip, which, like the out-passage, was "without parallel or precedent" for freedom from the difficulties and dangers unanimously reported as existing in that region.

It was proposed in 1882 to visit the Greely colony with supplies and reinforcements, and in 1883 to effect its return. Setting out a year and a day after the *Proteus*, the *Neptune* achieved a hard but steady advance to Kane Sea, but this she found choked with ice. For forty days she vainly assaulted

THE PROTEUS AND THE YANTIC TO THE RESCUE

her godfather's polar phalanx. When, with the close of August, whitening cliffs and withering vegetation portended winter, Beebe, the commander, hastening to place a small cache on either side of Smith Sound, returned, as ordered, with all the rest of his abounding supplies, which were stored in Newfoundland, to be taken north again by the *Proteus* in 1883.

The 1883 undertaking was doubly momentous from the past year's failure. The *Proteus*, Lieutenant Ernest A. Garlington commanding, was attended by the *Yantic*, under commander Frank Wildes, United States Navy. This enterprise was begun in mismanagement and misunderstanding and ended in misfortune. Lethargy of delay was followed by fever of precipitation. Orders were irregularly issued and countermanded; supplies went aboard in an unclassified mass; the foreign crew were inefficient and careless, the "co-operation" of army and navy divided responsibility and hampered both arms. The *Proteus* Court of Inquiry severely censured General Hazen, chief signal officer of the army, for remissness in these weighty particulars.

The arctic armada was again encountered where Beebe found it. Garlington, too completely engrossed with the injunction to reach Lady Franklin Bay at all hazards, though stopping at Cape Sabine a few hours, hurried north without replacing the damaged supplies there or leaving any of his own. Twice in her struggle the *Proteus* was within four hundred yards of open water; twice she failed to reach it. The second time the inexorable jaws of the ice-pack crushed in her sides, giving only time to tumble a part of the cargo overboard. The crew lent no aid, but, after securing their own luggage, began looting the property of the expedition. As they retreated in boats, a few hundred rations were left for Greely near Cape Sabine, at a place known as "Wreck Camp Cache." The Court of Inquiry thought that Garlington "after the sinking of the *Proteus* erred in not waiting longer at Pandora Harbor, with the object of obtaining from the *Yantic* supplies" for a

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

depot at Lifeboat Cove, whither Greely had been ordered to retreat. The Court, however, deemed this but an error of judgment, "committed in the exercise of a difficult and unusual discretion," for which "he should not be held to further accountability." After unwittingly passing the *Yantic* twice, and journeying in open boats for eight hundred miles in a sea stormy and full of bergs, the *Proteus* men were rescued by the *Yantic*.

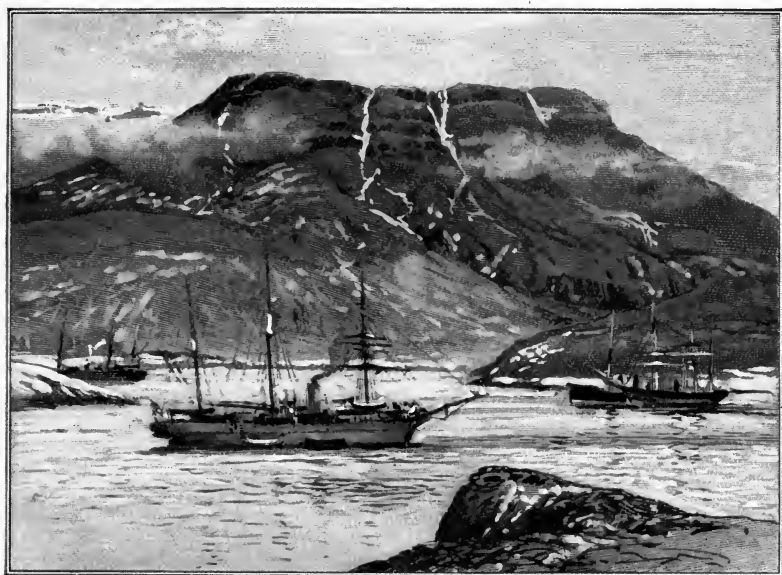
Incredulity, dismay, and indignation now quickly succeeded each other in the public mind. The first expedition for the rescue of Greely had been a failure, the second was a distressing breach of faith. Fearful, indeed, were its consequences. The devoted Greely and his band, in nowise responsible for it, were at that time painfully working southward from their well-stored outpost, relying upon meeting succor or finding a refuge prepared for them. The bleak desolation of Cape Sabine, with but forty days' rations, awaited them. Enough food to last them over five years had been carried to, or beyond, Littleton Island by the relief parties; but only one-fiftieth of it had been placed where Greely could get it.

New efforts in 1883 were deemed too hazardous to be undertaken. The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy now took up the business of relieving the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition. A purely naval expedition was decided upon, consisting of two Dundee whalers and two reserve ships. Secretary Chandler deserved great credit for his tireless energy and care in making the preparations. Precautions were multiplied, no delay and no oversight occurred. Congress made generous appropriation, though not without ridiculous debate and higgling. A \$25,000 bounty was proclaimed for rescue or tidings of the Greely party. Mr. Chandler had purchased the *Thetis* and the *Bear* for the perilous cruise. The British Government presented us with the capable arctic veteran, the *Alert*, in addition to which a

SCHLEY OFF FOR THE FAR NORTH

fourth vessel, the *Lock Garry*, was chartered as a collier. The brave Engineer Melville, undaunted by his dreadful experiences with DeLong, insisted upon going to hunt for Greely.

Commander Winfield S. Schley, heading the expedition, was as efficient as his chief. Though most of his subordinates were inexperienced in arctic work, and though he had to fight for every inch of progress, he carried the stars and stripes to



Alert

Thetis

Lock Garry

Bear

THE RELIEF FLEET AT GODHAVN

After a photograph by Rice

Cape York ahead of several whalers who sought to outdo him. Much game and many walruses were seen on the east side of Smith Sound, but no signs of the exploring party. It was inferred that they must have remained at their post in the north, but Schley decided to stop near Cape Sabine and make a cache before pushing thither.

Smith Sound, about twenty-three miles wide, was traversed in a roaring tempest. Parties were landed to examine old caches, when almost simultaneously two of them reported

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



FORT CONGER

After a photograph by Rice

“news from Greely.” Records and despatches from him found here revealed wonderful achievements. Apart from his regular observations, the interior of Grinnell Land had been explored. To their surprise, fertile valleys were brought to light there, supporting herds of musk oxen, in striking contrast with the great ice cap and the glacial lake. Traces of the Eskimo were found, where they had wintered in their long migration from the Parry Archipelago to the coast of Greenland. The climatic conditions of Grinnell Land were determined, and data were secured from which were ascertained the co-tidal lines of the polar ocean, the force of gravity and the deviations of the compass at Fort Conger. Other most interesting and valuable information was obtained. The north-western coast of Greenland had been plotted, and a point reached farther north than any ever before trodden by man. For the first time in three hundred years England’s “Farthest” had been left behind—the new “Farthest” being $83^{\circ} 24'$, viz.,

EXPERIENCES NEAR THE POLE

only $6^{\circ} 36'$, or about four hundred and thirty statute miles from the Pole. The view thence, from a height of 2,600 feet, revealed an unbroken stretch of ice, proving the polar ocean to reach within three hundred and fifty miles of the Pole. To the northeast, twenty-eight miles farther, they saw Cape Washington. Foxes, lemmings, ptarmigan and plants were seen even at that high altitude. Observations were continued through the long arctic night. Though usually not so magnificent as at Upernivik, several fine displays of the mysterious Northern Lights were beheld. Greely remarked upon one in particular. From the southwestern horizon to the zenith extended an arc woven of spiral ribbons of many-colored light. It seemed to rotate or to keep springing upward, replenished from some unseen and exhaustless fountain of splendors, while at the summit little puffs of light detached themselves to float away and perish.

A journal, *The Arctic Moon*, had been launched, suspected to be the organ of some one who stood for Congress before the Grinnell Land electorate on a platform of unlimited emigration. Litters of dogs had been raised and musk-calves domesticated. The little library was well patronized, games were invented, and much time devoted to sleep. Christmas had been duly celebrated. Presents from friends, sacredly kept packed till then, were opened, exciting a rather unsoldierly sensation in the throat. One obscure private, friendless but for his comrades, inured to hardships and neglect, was well-nigh overcome to find himself remembered with a gift. Another for a moment wore a puzzled look as he opened a flat package and found it to contain a fan!

In August, 1883, the party had abandoned their post at Lady Franklin Bay, in the far North, retreating by boat down the east coast of Grinnell Land. At one stage an immense stranded floeberg reared a wall fifty feet high in front of them. Steaming along its foot they finally observed a fissure, or cañon, not more than a dozen feet wide. The

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

little launch, with whaleboats in tow, boldly entered the crevice and safely reached open water more than a hundred yards farther on. Later they camped on a floe, but, tempestuous weather setting in, were alarmed to see it broken in pieces by the adjacent floes, which ground together with indescribable groanings and measureless force. On the north a fine floe of palæocrystic ice was pressing on their own, separated, however, by a buffer or cushion of rubble ice fifty feet wide, and for the present made solid by the pressure. The sledge and provisions were rushed across this chasm, articles of least value being left till the last, and hardly had the rear-most man passed over before the floes parted, and their bridge was swallowed in the sea.

The most recent despatch found by the rescuers, on first perusal, sent a joyful thrill through those who read.

"My party is now permanently encamped on the west side of a small neck of land which connects the Wreck-Cache Cove, or bay, and the one to its west. Distant about equally from Cape Sabine and Cocked Hat Island. All well.

A. W. GREELY,
*1st Lt. 5th Cav., A. S. O. and Ass't
Commanding Expedition."*

Horror succeeded. The date at the bottom was October 21, 1883, seven months before, and at that date only forty days' rations remained. Was it possible that any were still alive?

The *Thetis* blew three long whistles for a general "recall," preparing to steam on toward Greely's "permanent encampment," where, at that very moment a tent, half fallen down, sheltered seven starving men, too weak to raise it again. These were all who then remained of Greely's expedition. For the last three months they had seen their companions smitten one by one. The rule, almost to the last, had been cheerfulness and hope; to the very last had it been mutual self-sacrifice. In spite of "the hoarse grinding of the ice-

FIGHT FOR LIFE AT STARVATION CAMP

pack not far off," which one mentioned in his journal but did not speak of lest he "discourage the others," part of them had made a futile attempt to cross to Littleton Island. Observations had been rigorously maintained, and they were determined to continue them "till the last man died." Greely and others gave lectures on the United States, on a pleasant winter in the West Indies, on army experiences. Dry statistics concerning food exports from the United States were conned with strange persistency. Yet each meal was cheerfully voted "the best yet," and Thanksgiving Day pleasantly passed in telling what each proposed to have for his *next* Thanksgiving dinner.

When provisions ran low a resolute party set out to recover one hundred and fifty pounds of English meat cached at Cape Isabella, twenty-five miles from camp, in the direction of Point Eskimo, but beyond. In spite of protest, Elison, one of the squad, insisted on eating snow. Soon his hands, face, and feet were fearfully frozen. With great difficulty he was brought back to camp, losing his hands, feet and nose by natural amputation. He was henceforth allowed double the portion of his comrades, a spoon being strapped to his arm that he might eat without help.

A second effort, brave and sad, by Sergeant Rice and Private Frederick alone, to recover the English meat, proved equally vain and even more disastrous. Risking their lives at almost every step of the way they at last reached the place, only to find, after hours of searching among the floes, that their triumph was a barren one. The English meat had drifted from the shore. There was nothing to do but to go creeping back to camp, if they could get there; but Rice, having wet and frozen his feet, was spent, and could not walk a step. He begged Frederick to go and leave him to die, but Frederick would not. Instead, drawing the sledge close under the edge of a floe-berg, he placed Rice upon it, wrapped his frozen feet with the temiak or fur-lined jacket taken from

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

his own back for this purpose, and then sat and held his unfortunate comrade till the latter's pain was relieved by death. Frederick was minded to die there, too. What use in returning to Starvation Camp with his story of disappointment! But fearing that those in camp would plan a rescue and end their lives in unnecessary misery, he resolved to go back. The dauntless fellow got as far as Point Eskimo, God only knows how. Here they had left their sleeping-bag, expecting to return to it the same day they parted from it, as they would have done had the meat been found and had Rice not failed. After refreshing himself with bread and tea, the exhausted Frederick crawled into the bag and slept. On awaking, much stronger, but now smitten with remorse that he had made no effort to bury poor Rice, the indomitable man pushed back all that awful way and gave the frozen corpse of his loving comrade such burial as he could. He then made the best of his slow and painful journey to Greely's camp. Gnawing hunger tempted him to eat Rice's ration, for which none could or would have blamed him, but he refused. He would use what was his own, but would not rob the living or the dead. He reached camp hardly alive, hauling the sledge with Rice's dole of crumbs upon it, to tell how costly and how bootless his mission had been.

After the death, in January, of Cross, from scurvy, their number was not lessened again till April 5th, when one of the Eskimos succumbed. Sergeant Lynn breathed his last on April 6th. The very day, April 9th, when Sergeant Rice perished in his heroic search for the English meat, Lieutenant Lockwood, one of the two Americans who reached farthest north, also passed away. The last words he wrote were: "Jewell is much weaker to-day"—and Sergeant Jewell was the next to yield. April 29th the other Eskimo was drowned in a brave effort to catch a seal. On Easter Sunday a snowbird on the roof chirped loudly. "All noise stopped as by magic and no word was said till the little bird passed." The death

THE DEATH ROLL LENGTHENS



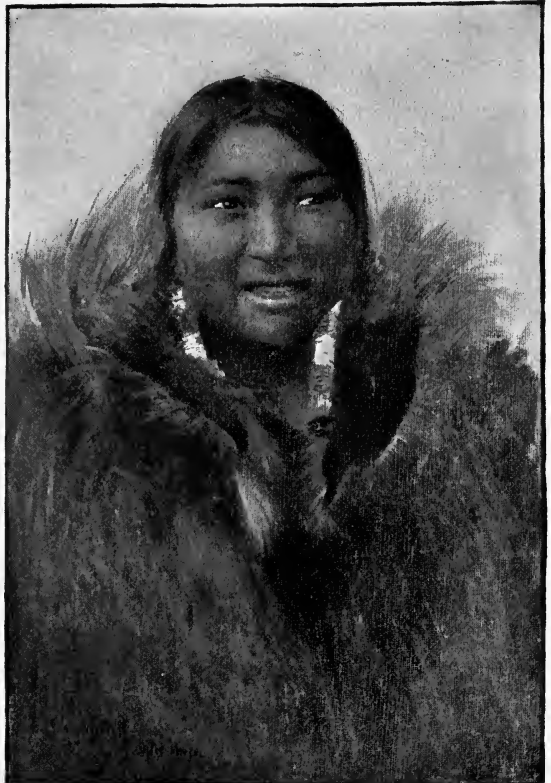
LIEUTENANT LOCKWOOD AND HIS EXPLORING PARTY

From a photograph by Rice

catalogue was lengthened on May 19th, when private Ellis died, soon followed by three others, Sergeant Ralston, Private Whisler, and Sergeant Israel. From June 1st to June 18th seven perished, but of these only the first, Lieutenant Kisingbury, could be interred. Private Salor died on June 3d. On June 6th Private Henry was shot for stealing provisions, and lay where he fell. Two more, Dr. Pavey and Private Bender, died on this day. The rest were carried to the foot of the floeberg, save Schneider, who died on June 18th. The party had not sufficient strength to move him. The loss, June 12th, of Gardiner, who passed away murmuring "Mother—Wife," deeply affected all. The death angel so common a visitor, the men grew jocular in his presence. When a raven escaped them one protested that he could not "eat crow," anyway. To the very day of the rescue Brainard persisted in his habit of collecting specimens.

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

At midnight on June 23d the seven survivors heard a whistling above the sound of the gale. Forty-two hours they had been without a morsel, and long weeks without anything like proper rations. Only two—Long and Brainard—were able to walk. These went forth to ascertain the cause of the noise. Brainard reported nothing in sight, but Long lingered outside. The wretched men in the tent discussed the strange shriek with pathetic garrulity, finally deciding that it must have been the wind blowing across the edge of a tin can. At this juncture Connell showed the familiar touch of death in his slightly swollen appearance, cold and paralyzed extremities, and aimless mumbling. "Death," says Greely, "kindly took away all pain," and Connell, like those stricken before him, was tranquil. Greely crawled toward the light with a Testament, while Brainard pressed the little remaining brandy to the dying man's lips. He only murmured, "Let me die in peace."



AN ESKIMO BELLE

On reaching her objective the *Thetis* despatched Lieu-

LONG AND BRAINARD MEET THE RESCUERS

tenant Colwell in the cutter to find out the worst. At Wreck Cache no life appeared. As they rounded the next point the silhouette of a human figure was seen against the dull sky. Instantly the boat's flag was brandished. Painfully the figure stooped, picked up a flag, evidently the Greely distress flag, and waved an answer. Then, half-walking, half falling down the slope, Long approached his saviors. "He was a ghastly sight," said Schley. "His cheeks were hollow, his eyes wild, his hair and beard long and matted. His army blouse, covering several thicknesses of shirts and jackets, was ragged and dirty. He wore a little fur cap, and rough moccasins of untanned leather tied around the legs. His utterance was thick and mumbling, and in his agitation his jaws worked in convulsive twitches." He was conveyed to the ward-room of the *Bear*, where he described the party's plight, pausing and often repeating himself. "We've had a hard winter—a hard winter—and the wonder is how in God's name we pulled through." The rest, he said, were on shore in "sore distress—sore distress."

After placing Long in the cutter, Colwell's party had hurried forward. "They saw spread out before them a desolate expanse of rocky ground. Back of the level space was a range of hills rising up eight hundred feet, with a precipitous face, broken in two by a gorge, through which the wind was blowing furiously. On a little elevation directly in front was the tent. Lowe and Norman were ahead, and were greeting a soldierly man [Brainard] who had come out from the tent. As Colwell approached, Norman said to the man:

"There is the lieutenant," and he added to Colwell:

"This is Sergeant Brainard."

Brainard drew himself up and was about to salute, when Colwell took his hand. At that moment a feeble voice within the tent was heard:

"Who's there?"

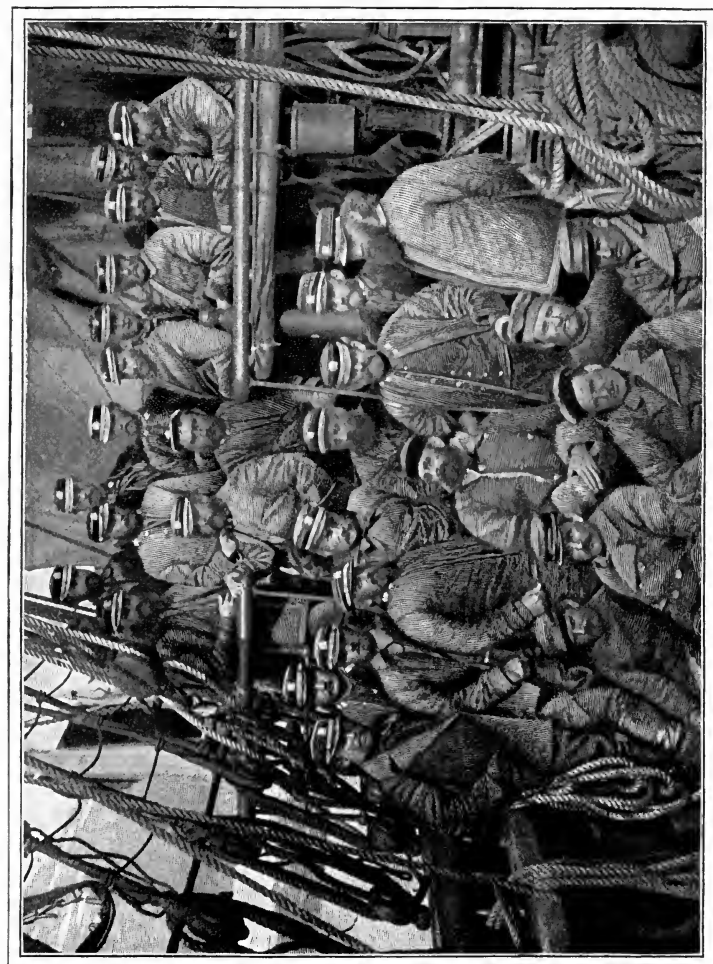
"It's Norman—Norman who was in the *Proteus*."

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

Cries of "Oh, it's Norman!" were followed by a feeble cheer.

Greely said of this moment: "We had resigned ourselves to despair, when suddenly strange voices were heard calling me; and in a frenzy of feeling as vehement as our enfeebled condition would permit, we realized that our country had not failed us, that the long agony was over, and the remnant of the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition was saved."

Colwell cut a slit in the tent and looked in. He was enjoined by an inmate to be careful not to step upon Connell, who lay under the very hand of death, his jaw drooping, his eyes glazed. Directly opposite, on hands and knees, was a dark man with a matted beard, in a dirty and tattered dressing-gown, a little red skull-cap on his head, who, as Colwell appeared, looked up from his Testament and vacantly adjusted his eye-glasses to his brilliant, staring eyes. Twice Colwell asked, "Who are you?" but got no answer. One of the men said: "That's the Major—Major Greely." Colwell took him by the hand, saying, "Greely, is this you?" "Yes," said Greely. "Yes—seven of us left—here we are—dying—like men. Did what I came to do—beat the best record." Here he fell back exhausted. His indomitable spirit had thus far conquered despair for himself and his companions. He had not ceased to exhort them to "Die like men, not like dogs," ever telling them the story of those British soldiers who stood at parade on deck till their ship went under, while the women and children put off in boats. Forty-eight hours later not a man of the seven would have been alive. Connell afterward said: "Death had me by the heels, boys, when you pulled me back by the neck." They were in the dotage of starvation. Some refused to believe that relief was at hand, and had to be humored in their skepticism. The craving of hunger, lately blunted, re-awoke, when their entreaties for food were the more touching in that they could not be granted.



Emory Greely Lowe Schley
Long Brainard Biederbeck Connell

THE GREELY SURVIVORS AND THE RESCUING PARTY
From a photograph by Rice, taken on board the Bear at Godhavn, Greenland

THE RETURN WITH THE LIVING AND THE DEAD

Greely protested against moving the dead. He felt about them as Chief Engineer Melville had felt about DeLong and his comrades, and would have left them where the "polar blasts which pierced their poor unclad bodies in life would wail their wild dirge through all time." But the feelings of the dead men's friends must be consulted, and such bodies as could be recovered were brought to America. Elison died on the voyage. As if he had himself never felt pain, he said, on meeting Engineer Melville: "So you were with the *Jeanette*, and poor DeLong is dead. Poor fellows, *how they must have suffered!*"

At St. John's, Newfoundland, the rescuers and rescued were besieged, though the latter were carefully sequestered from the crowds. The squadron was escorted out of the harbor by a fleet of crowded tugs and launches, which passed around the ships, cheering and whistling "*bon voyage*." At that time Greely himself was too weak to walk far, but on the 1st of August, when they sighted Portsmouth, he had gained fifty pounds.

That afternoon, in the glory of summer sunshine, the shores of Portsmouth harbor were lined with sympathetic people, the water covered with sails, flags and streamers, the lower port occupied by the five vessels of the North Atlantic Squadron and other ships of the navy. As the *Alliance*, leading the *Thetis*, the *Bear* and the *Alert*, steamed up-harbor, the Marine Band played "Home Again," while the crews from the rigging shouted welcome to the survivors and their saviors.

Secretary Chandler's barge bore Mrs. Greely to the *Thetis*, which she was the first to board. Then the officers of the squadron were welcomed on board the flagship, *Tennessee*, by the Secretary and Admiral Luce. Later these officers with General Hazen greeted Greely on board the *Thetis*. For the next three days visitors swarmed over the ship. On the 4th a grand civic procession of distinguished men, bands, marines

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

and militia, passed in review through the streets of the hospitable city.

Men's feelings were mingled and contradictory. They were proud of Schley's achievement and joyful at the return of the living; but no less sincere and affecting was their grief at the thought of the vanished majority, whose remains sadly freighted the relief squadron. At Fort Columbus, as the vessels reached New York, twenty-one guns saluted them. On Governor's Island troops were drawn up to receive the dead. Among the distinguished officers present were Generals Sheridan, Hancock and Hazen, and Commodore Fillebrown. As the bodies, save that of Sergeant Jewell, which had gone to his New Hampshire home, were borne through the lane of troops to the chapel and there delivered to friends, arms were presented, while minute guns were discharged to mark the solemnity of the occasion.

To the Greely expedition as a whole no official recognition was ever given, save the oral thanks of President Arthur expressed to commanding officer Greely on his return to Washington. A resolution tendering the thanks of Congress was once introduced in Congress, but the member having it in charge died, and it did not pass. Some of the men going on the expedition were never reimbursed for the clothing lost by them.

Greely's promotion to be Chief Signal Officer was not, as was generally supposed, a reward for his arctic exploits. He had served eighteen years as Chief Assistant in the Signal Office, was the senior officer of the office, on whom the duties devolved by law, had been in charge of them for several months before General Hazen's death, and continued there until his appointment a month later. Greely was, however, not without recognition from other sources. His native State, Massachusetts, and Newburyport, his native city, both gave him testimonials. Besides honorary membership in many distinguished organizations, he received the Grand Gold Medal

LIEUTENANT PEARY'S ADVENTURES

of the Royal Geographical Society of London, and the Medal of the Geographical Society of Paris.

Of the survivors among Greely's men Sergeant David L. Brainard was, on account of his arctic services, promoted to be Second Lieutenant. In 1895 he was First Lieutenant in the Second United States Cavalry. Bierderbeck had, at the time mentioned, a small pension. He was an inspector of customs in New York, where he showed the same fidelity which characterized him in the Far North. Long, Frederick, and Connell were employed by the Meteorological Division of the Signal Office, under control of the Agricultural Department. Frederick had been refused a pension. Connell's pay had been reduced, but he stood very high in the service.

The Dark Continent of Greenland furnished an exhaustless and fascinating field for the speculative to roam over in fancy and the adventurous in fact. Lieut. R. E. Peary, a civil engineer connected with the Navy, belonged distinctly to the class given to actual adventures, and his several sledge journeys across Greenland's icy mountains were among the most brilliant geographical feats in all history. In 1886 he reached a point near Disco, about fifty miles from the coast. In 1892 he sallied northward again, this time in company with his wife. Suffering from a broken leg, he was tenderly and tirelessly watched by her. On one occasion, while he was convalescent, they were together in the stern of a boat, and became surrounded by a herd



LIEUTENANT ROBERT E.
PEARY AND MRS. PEARY

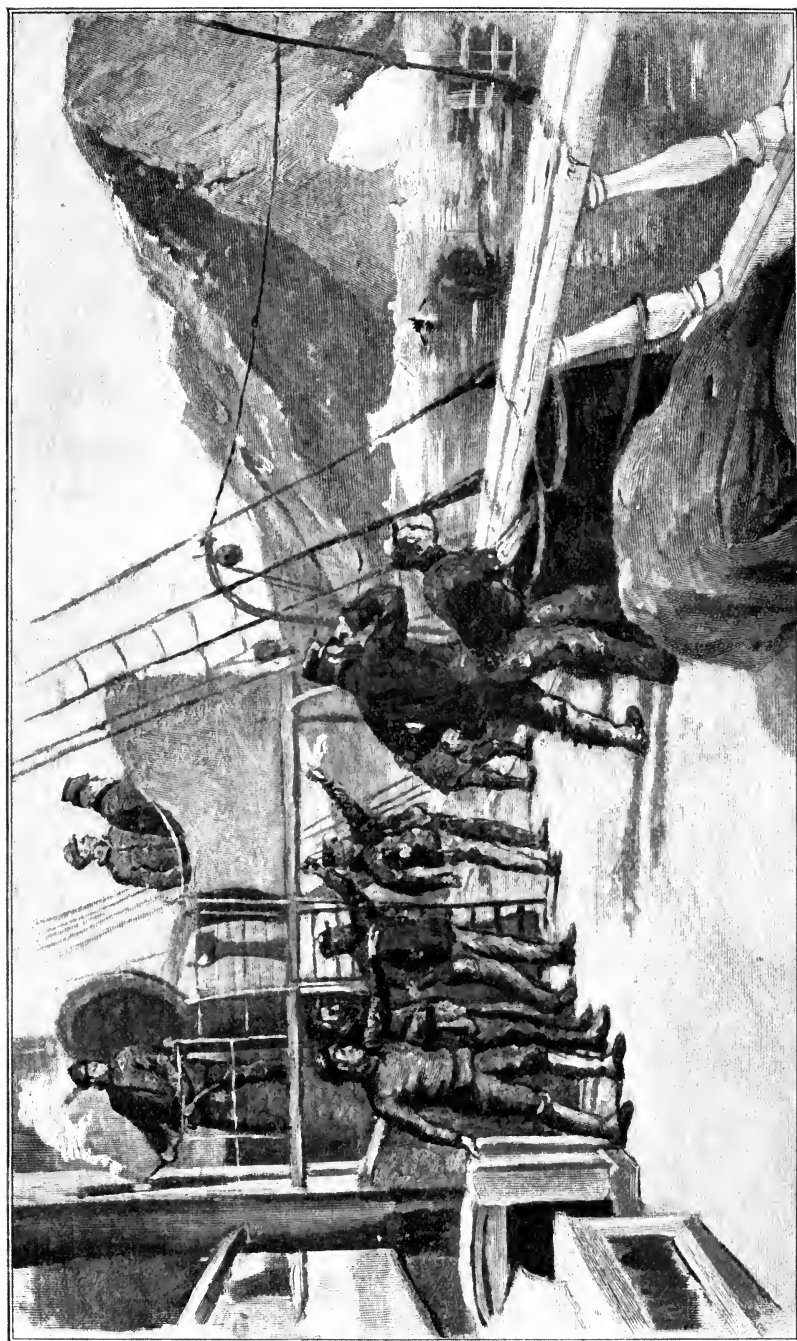
THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

of angry walruses trying to get their tusks over the gunwale and capsize the boat. For an hour the heroic woman coolly reloaded the firearms while the crew rapidly discharged them, thus successfully keeping the monsters at bay.

Upon this trip Mr. Peary, accompanied by Dr. F. A. Cook, Messrs. Langdon Gibson, Eivind Astrup, John T. Verhoeff, and Matthew Henson, colored, disembarked at Whale Sound, across from the tragic Cape Sabine and a trifle south thereof. It was in some respects an advantage that the party was small, the smallest that had ever embarked on so extensive an arctic enterprise. Despite his infirmity Peary explored Inglefield Gulf, crossed the icy rump, 5,000 feet high, divorcing Whale Sound from Kane Sea, went as far north as 82° , thence viewing the ice-free land discovered by Lockwood, supposed to be separate from Greenland, though adjacent to it. Blocked by the fiord to the north the intrepid explorer turned eastward. He reached Independence Bay on the 4th of July, 1892. Returning he took almost a bee-line for 450 miles to his starting point, where he arrived on August 6, after an absence of ninety-three days.

This expedition proved that the eastern and western shores of Greenland rapidly converge north of parallel 78° . Greenland is therefore an island. On this tour Peary marked the northward extension of the great Greenland ice-cap; thus certifying another point in geography; while Mrs. Peary, in observing the manners of an absolutely isolated Eskimo tribe of three hundred and fifty people, made a valuable contribution to anthropology. These important results were not achieved without cost in human life. One of the little party, Verhoeff, being separated from the others, lost his life in the cracks of a glacier. After a thorough search had failed, a year's food was cached for his use, should he be alive, and with heavy hearts the party left the place.

Having raised funds in 1893 by a lecture tour, Mr. Peary found himself in the spring of 1894 once more scaling the



FIRST SIGHT OF PEARY'S PARTY
The Approach to McCormick Bay, July 23, 1892

WINTERING IN GREENLAND

Greenland ice at a distance from the coast, at last attaining an elevation of 5,500 feet. For the first thirteen days he advanced ten miles a day. His dogs died off, his men were nearly all frosted and sent back. He cached his surplus stores, and with the remainder of his party pressed forward for the next fortnight six miles a day. He finally had to turn about and hasten to Bowdoin Bay, accomplishing little more that season.

It was, nevertheless, his ambition to map the northern coast of Greenland. Against prudent counsels he declined to return south on the steamer *Falcon*, which visited him in August, 1894. Though with insufficient stores, he determined to winter in Greenland with two companions, who volunteered to stay with him. Preparing beforehand a supply station, he, in April, 1895, ventured inland once more. His Eskimos left him, he could not find his supplies, his men suffered from frost-bite, and game failed; yet with an audacity splendid because it chanced not to be fatal, the devoted band pushed forward to Independence Bay. Happily obtaining ten musk-oxen, they began the return journey, starvation marching close behind them. Everything but food was dropped, and on June 25th, after twenty-five forced marches, they dragged themselves to Bowdoin Bay and to succor. For two weeks they had had but one meal a day, and they had been foodless for twenty-four hours before reaching their journey's end.

Of these explorations General Greely said: "The two crossings of Greenland by Peary must be classed among the most brilliant geographic feats of late years, his journeys far surpassing in extent that of his ice-cap predecessor, Nansen, who crossed Greenland more than 1,000 miles to the south." Peary and those who furthered his undertakings perhaps expected too much. He was bitterly disappointed at the small results of his last journey and believed that arctic exploration was set back many years by his failure.

CHAPTER III

THE PLUMED KNIGHT AND HIS JOUST

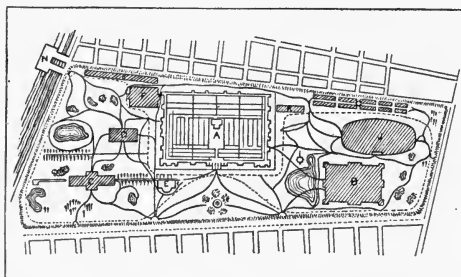
THE NEW ORLEANS COTTON CENTENNIAL.—BUILDINGS, EXHIBITS AND INFLUENCE.—POLITICAL SITUATION IN 1884.—PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES.—RISE OF JAMES G. BLAINE.—CHARGES AGAINST HIM.—HIS PROSPECTS IN 1876.—INVESTIGATION OF HIS RECORD.—THE MULLIGAN LETTERS.—DRAMATIC SELF-VINDICATION BEFORE THE HOUSE.—BLAINE AND KNOTT.—BLAINE IN GARFIELD'S CABINET.—PERU AND CHILE.—BLAINE IN ADVANCE OF HIS PARTY.—REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1884.—LYNCH MADE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—EFFORT TO UNITE UPON ARTHUR.—SCENES IN THE CONVENTION UPON BLAINE'S NOMINATION.—THE MUGWUMPS BOLT.—GROVER CLEVELAND.—HIS YOUTH, EDUCATION, AND EARLY OFFICIAL LIFE.—GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.—NOMINATED BY THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION.—THE MUGWUMPS DECLARE FOR CLEVELAND.—CHARGES AGAINST BLAINE.—HOW FAR TRUE.—“RUM, ROMANISM AND REBELLION.”—HENDRICKS PACIFIES TAMMANY.—CLEVELAND VICTORIOUS.

THANKS to the “New Departure” of 1871, the South soon ceased to be a political storm centre. Early in 1881 Rev. Dr. Haygood, president of Emory College, in Georgia, preached a sermon, published by the unanimous request of the congregation, in which he expressed rejoicing at the abolition of slavery as a blessing. In 1881 a successful industrial exposition had been held in Atlanta, and in 1883 another in Louisville, both revealing much progress in business at the South. Of wider interest than either was the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition of 1884. This date was chosen because a bale of cotton, the first, so far as known, was shipped to England from Charleston in 1784. Congress incorporated the exposition and authorized a loan to it of \$1,000,000. Private parties subscribed half a million more. New Orleans, selected as the most suitable location, gave \$100,000 to erect Horticultural Hall. Louisiana appropri-

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

ated for the enterprise \$100,000, and some contributions were made by other States.

Upper City Park, two hundred and forty-five acres in extent, on the river, above the city, was artistically laid out and adorned. The most characteristic feature connected with the Exposition was to be found in the avenues winding through vistas of live oaks festooned with Spanish moss, or through groves of banana, lemon, orange, mesquite and maguey, varied with beds of brilliant tropical flowers and with fountains. By night electric lights, then a novelty to many visitors, added to the fascination of the place. The Exposition opened on December 16th. The Governor of Louisiana was present, as were also Postmaster-General Hatton and Secretary Teller, representing the Cabinet. Dignitaries from distant States in the Union honored the occasion by attending. At the same moment a distinguished company, including a committee from



PLAN OF THE NEW ORLEANS EXPOSITION

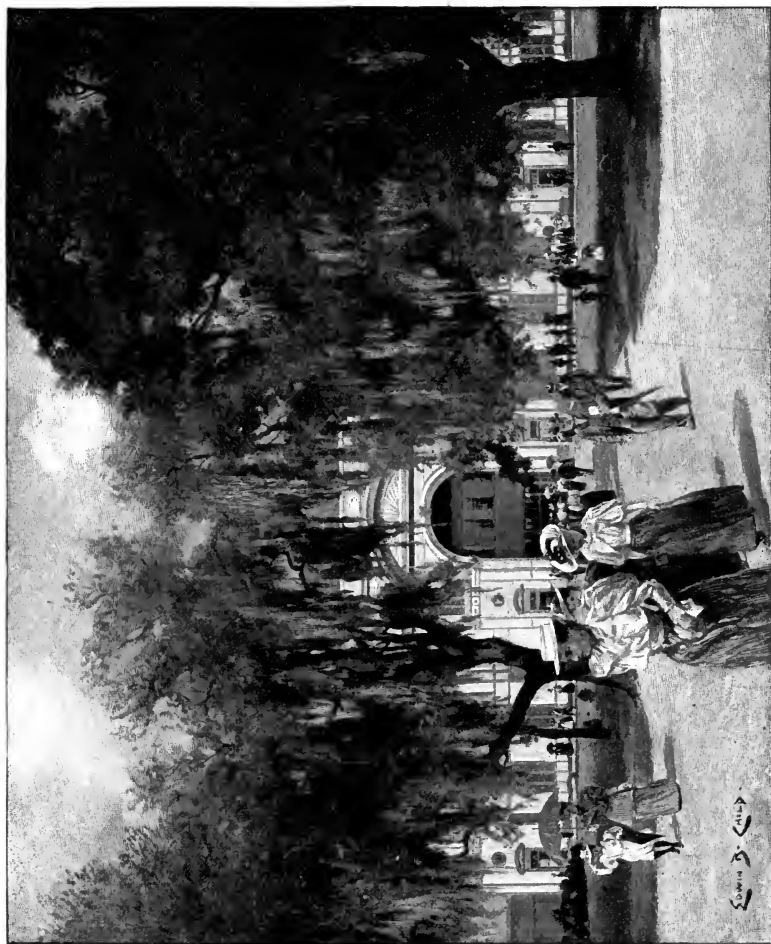
A, Main Building; * B, United States and State Exhibits; C, Horticultural Hall; D, Mexican Building; E, art gallery; F, factory and mills; G, live stock stables; H, restaurants; I, fountain, 80 feet high; J, live stock arena.

*A table showing the comparative sizes of great exposition buildings:

| | | Sq. ft. |
|--|--------|-----------|
| <i>Crystal Palace, London</i> | (1851) | 980,884 |
| <i>London Exposition</i> | (1862) | 1,400,000 |
| <i>Paris</i> | (1855) | 545,934 |
| " | (1867) | 456,923 |
| <i>Vienna</i> | (1873) | 430,500 |
| <i>Philadelphia</i> | (1876) | 872,320 |
| <i>Atlanta</i> | (1881) | 107,520 |
| <i>Louisville</i> | (1883) | 677,400 |
| <i>New Orleans Exposition (Main Building alone, and not including galleries)</i> | (1884) | 1,656,030 |
| <i>Manufacturers and Liberal Arts Building at Chicago World's Fair (including Galleries)</i> | (1893) | 1,327,699 |

each House of Congress, was assembled in the East Room of the Presidential Mansion at Washington. The preliminary exercises in full were telegraphed to President Arthur, who telegraphed back a fitting response. At the pressure of a button in the White House the mazes of machinery began to move, and the Exposition was declared formally in operation.

The Main Building was the largest structure which had then been



THE NEW ORLEANS EXPOSITION—SOUTH PORTAL OF THE MAIN BUILDING
(Counting in the galleries this building covered a space of nearly two and a half million square feet.)

THE EXPOSITION AT NEW ORLEANS



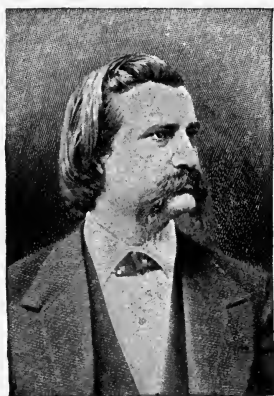
THE NEW ORLEANS EXPOSITION—MEXICAN PAVILION AND MAIN BUILDING

erected for exhibition purposes, having an area of 1,656,030 square feet. The Government Building, containing the exhibits of the national and State governments, was 885 feet long by 565 wide, while Horticultural Hall, of iron and glass, and designed to be permanent, was 600 feet by 100. The Art Building was large and admirably adapted for its purpose, being lighted from the roof. The Mexican Government, at great expense, put up a large building as quarters for a detachment of infantry and cavalry, and for offices. There was a Woman's Department, under the supervision of Mrs. Julia Ward Howe; also an exhibit of negroes' handiwork. The displays from tropical or semi-tropical countries were naturally the most profuse. Mexico erected a tasteful octagonal edifice expressly for its wealth of minerals. Its exhibits

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

together covered 160,000 square feet, surpassing in extent and variety those from any other foreign country. Central America was represented more completely than at any previous exposition, and the products of its curious civilization interested all visitors.

Giving the South a sense of its importance and strength, and making friendly a host of guests from the North, the Exposition had influence upon the national election soon to occur. Of this none could forecast the issue with any certainty, but the canvass was sure to be interesting. The Republicans were much divided. President Arthur, whom few wanted, announced himself a candidate for re-election. Preceding State elections ominously favored the Democrats. In 1882 both Pennsylvania and Massachusetts elected Democratic governors. The same year, owing to "Half-breed" defection from Folger, the Republican candidate, New York, which in 1880 Garfield had carried against Hancock by a plurality of over 21,000, chose Grover Cleveland its Governor by a plurality of more than 190,000 and a majority of 150,000. This election began Mr. Cleveland's fame, quite as much from the accident of the Republican feud referred to as from aught which he then had done or bade fair to do.



JOHN A. LOGAN

Illinois put forward as a presidential candidate General Logan, so popular with the old soldiers. A "compact body of Ohio Republicans" adhered to Senator Sherman. Senator Edmunds, thought of as a champion of Civil Service Reform, was strong in Massachusetts and Vermont. General J. R. Hawley had succeeded Marshall Jewell as Connecticut's favorite son. But the spontaneous, widespread, persistent, often delirious enthusiasm for James G. Blaine, of

THE EARLY LIFE OF JAMES G. BLAINE

Maine, made it clear that unless his opponents early united upon some other candidate "the Plumed Knight" would sweep the field.

Mr. Blaine, long and prominently in the public eye, had been born in Washington County, Pa., January 31, 1830, a great-grandson of Commissary-General Blaine, who during the terrible winter at Valley Forge made from his private substance advances to keep Washington's soldiers from starvation. The lad was educated with great care by his father and his maternal grandfather, Neal Gillespie, a Roman Catholic gentleman of wealth, character and ability. In his fourteenth year young Blaine entered Washington College, Pennsylvania, where he graduated with honors. After being some time instructor in the Western Military Institute, Kentucky, and three years in Philadelphia, teaching and writing editorials, he in 1854 assumed the management of the *Kennebec Journal*, Augusta, Me. He rapidly familiarized himself with Maine politics and became a power in the Whig and Republican councils of the State. His skill as a debater gave him fame. He entered the national House of Representatives in 1862, with Garfield, and served until 1876, being Speaker from 1869 to 1875. From 1876 to 1881 he was United States Senator. In Congress he distinguished himself by his familiarity with parliamentary tactics and his unequalled readiness in debate. He left the Senate to enter Garfield's Cabinet as Secretary of State.

On February 28, 1876, Mr. Blaine was informed of a rumor, traceable to J. S. C. Harrison, a director of the Union Pacific Railroad, to the effect that said Harrison, shortly after



JAMES G. BLAINE
at the Age of Seventeen

From a daguerreotype, published for the first time in this work, owned by Miss Kate M. Hopkins, and made in 1847, while Mr. Blaine was attending Washington College, Pa.

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

he became a director, found seventy-five worthless Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad bonds among the assets of the Union Pacific, said by the treasurer, Rollins, to have been received from James G. Blaine as security for \$64,000 loaned him and never repaid. On April 24th Mr. Blaine read before the House a letter from Rollins, one from Morton, Bliss & Co., through whom the draft for \$64,000 was said to have been cashed, and one from Thomas A. Scott, who had been president of the Union Pacific at the time, acquitting him of the deed charged, and denying that he had had any other business transactions with them.

At the same time the ex-Speaker denied the further rumor that he was the owner of Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad bonds received without consideration, explaining his relations with that road, all which he declared "open as the day" and perfectly proper. For the time Mr. Blaine stood exculpated. He desired, then, to avoid a congressional investigation, as it could not possibly end by the time of the Republican convention (of 1876), a body not likely to nominate a man "under investigation," however innocent. Nevertheless an investigation, by the Judiciary Committee, was ordered and on May 15th begun. The statements and testimony already offered by Mr. Blaine were repeated under oath, Scott swearing that the bonds in question were his, received from Josiah Caldwell, and that he, Scott, had shifted them upon the company.

A fortnight remained before the 1876 Convention, and State delegations kept cropping up for Blaine. A rumor arose implicating him in corrupt connection with the Northern Pacific. Three witnesses came from Boston: Elisha Atkins, a director of the Union Pacific; Warren Fisher, a former business relative of Blaine, who had found the relations unsatisfactory and terminated them long before; and James Mulligan, once a clerk of Jacob Stanwood, Blaine's brother-in-law, and afterwards of Fisher. Mulligan testified

THE MULLIGAN LETTERS

that he had understood Atkins to say that seventy-five bonds went from Blaine to Scott, who "worked them off upon the Union Pacific." Atkins testified that he never said it to Mulligan, but that Mulligan said it to him; also that Mulligan had an old grudge against Blaine.

Upon their arrival, Blaine sent to have Fisher and Mulligan come to his house. Only Fisher came, who admitted letting Mulligan have a number of letters from the ex-Speaker to himself. Blaine went to Mulligan and demanded the letters. Mulligan declared that "he would not give them up to God Almighty or his father." Blaine, however, managed to get possession of them. Mulligan stated that he surrendered the letters under Blaine's promise to return them; that Blaine entreated him not to put them in evidence, as it would ruin him and his family, offering to get Mulligan a consulship if he would desist and threatening suicide if he persisted in exposure; and that Blaine at last flatly refused to return the letters, calling upon Fisher and Atkins to witness his act. Next morning Mr. Blaine submitted to the investigators the written opinion of Hon. J. S. Black, a Democrat, and Hon. Matt. H. Carpenter, a Republican, to the effect that the letters had "no relevancy whatever to the matter under inquiry," and that "it would be most unjust and tyrannical as well as illegal to demand their production."

The Judiciary Committee was now in utmost perplexity. The witnesses were discharged and the matter laid over. Some proposed to bring it before the House, but this plan was given up as dangerous, one member remarking that they at least knew what not to do, and that was, "not to have Blaine cavorting round on the floor of the House." If they could only have prevented this!

The interim was Blaine's opportunity. A foretaste of what followed is given by some doggerel in which a newspaper of the time represented Confederate Brigadiers (a majority of

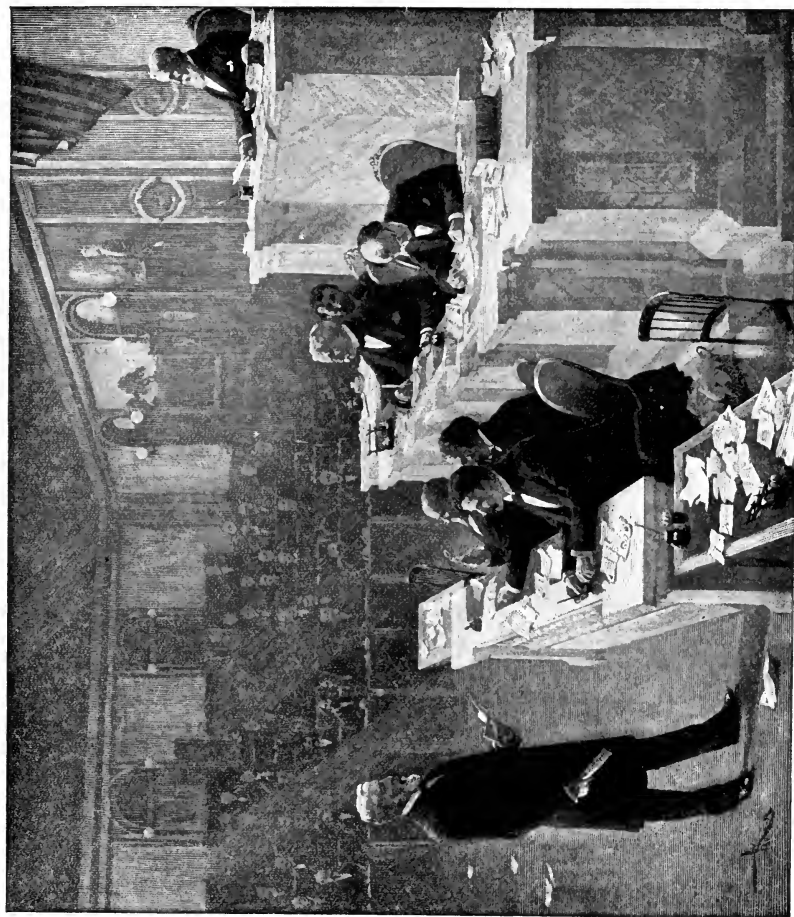
THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

the sub-committee investigating Blaine had been in the Southern army) as reciting in Democratic caucus :

He is always in the way—
Blaine of Maine ;
And in session every day
Raises Cain ;
When his prodding makes us roar,
Then he lacerates the sore,
Till we holler more and more—
Blaine of Maine.

How he boxes us around—
Blaine of Maine ;
Now and then we're on the ground,
Half insane ;
Frequently to grass we go ;
This is temporary though,
For we rally from the blow,
And prepare to eat our crow,
But he stands us in a row,
And he smites us high and low,
Till we shiver in our woe,
And he keeps us whirling so,
That we have the vertigo—
Blaine of Maine.

After the morning hour on Monday, June 5th, Mr. Blaine rose to a question of privilege. He began his remarks by observing that the investigation, though authorized in general terms, was aimed solely and only at himself. "The famous witness, Mulligan," he said, had selected out of years of correspondence letters which he thought would be peculiarly damaging to him, Blaine, but they had nothing to do with that investigation. He, Blaine, obtained them under circumstances known to everybody, and defied the House to compel him to produce them. Had Mr. Blaine stopped here his enemies could have made him bite the dust. Apparently he had allowed himself to be driven into a fatal *cul-de-sac*. Not so. Having vindicated his right to the letters, he proceeded, in his most dramatic manner: "Thank God Almighty, I am not



Blaine

S. S. Cox of New York

"I INVITE THE CONFIDENCE OF FORTY-FOUR MILLIONS OF MY COUNTRYMEN WHILE
I READ THOSE LETTERS FROM THIS DESK"

The "Mulligan Letters" Scene in the House of Representatives, June 5, 1876

“CAVORTING ROUND”

afraid to show them. There they are (holding up a package of letters). There is the very original package. And with some sense of humiliation, with a mortification that I do not pretend to conceal, with a sense of outrage which I think any man in my position would feel, I invite the confidence of forty-four millions of my countrymen while I read those letters from this desk.” For the moment triumph turned to dismay, dismay to triumph. The audience was electrified. The letters seemed to show Mr. Blaine, in one case, at least, high-minded and generous in assuming the losses of “innocent persons who invested on his request.”

After summing up, Mr. Blaine continued :

“Now, gentlemen, those letters I have read were picked out of correspondence extending over fifteen years. The man did his worst, the very worst he could, out of the most intimate business correspondence of my life. I ask, gentlemen, if any of you—and I ask it with some feeling—can stand a severer scrutiny of or more rigid investigation into your private correspondence? That was the worst he could do.” A pause ensued. Then, resuming, he said : “There is one piece of testimony wanting. There is but one thing to close the complete circle of evidence. There is but one witness whom I could not have, to whom the judiciary Committee, taking into account the great and intimate connection he had with the transaction, was asked to send a cable despatch—and I ask the gentleman from Kentucky if that despatch was sent to him?”

“Who?” asked Mr. Frye, in an undertone.

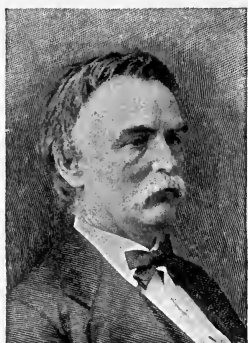
“Josiah Caldwell.”

Mr. Knott responded, “I will reply to the gentleman that Judge Hunton and myself have both endeavored to get Mr. Caldwell’s address and have not yet got it.”

“Has the gentleman from Kentucky *received a despatch from Mr. Caldwell?*”

“I will explain that directly,” replied Mr. Knott.

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



J. PROCTOR KNOTT

"I want a categorical answer."

"I have received a despatch purporting to be from Mr. Caldwell."

"You did!"

"How did you know I got it?"

"*When* did you get it? I want the gentleman from Kentucky to answer when he got it."

"Answer my question first."

"I never heard of it until yesterday."

"How did you hear it?"

Ignoring the question, Mr. Blaine strode down the aisle holding up a despatch, and turning to Mr. Knott said, with stinging deliberation:

"You got a despatch last Thursday morning at eight o'clock from Josiah Caldwell completely and absolutely exonerating me from this charge—and *you have suppressed it!*"

The sensation up to that moment had been great, but to what now occurred it was as the fuse to the explosion. General Garfield "never saw such a scene in the House." Mr. Blaine had run the blockade, and for the moment the blockaders seemed likely to be "swamped in the wash" as he passed.

Mr. Blaine failed, after all, to be nominated in 1876, but as Garfield's Secretary of State, for a brief period, he led a lively career. In 1881, after a bitter war between the two countries, Peru lay at the mercy of Chile, who inexorably demanded, among the conditions of peace, the cession of a territory rich in deposits of guano. This was deprecated, both as forcibly disrupting an American state and as an example upon this continent of war for the sake of conquest. Mr. Hurlbut, our minister to Peru, took sides with that country. Too hastily recognizing as the proper Peruvian Government one of the two factions claiming this status, he proceeded to lay down the terms on which it might conclude peace with the

BLAINE AND BELMONT

conqueror. Provision must be made for the adjudication of American claims to the guano fields, especially the Landreau claim, and also the Cochet claim, to which a certain "Peruvian Company" had fallen heir. "Hurlbut's Peru" gladly entertained these claims, going so far as to negotiate with him for the cession of a naval station to be held by the United States till the litigation was settled. Naught could exceed Chile's indignation at this procedure. She at once arrested Hurlbut's Peruvian Government and carried it to Santiago. Mr. Blaine reproved Hurlbut's immoderation and sent a special envoy to adjust matters, but he preserved toward Chile a threatening attitude until relieved by Mr. Frelinghuysen. The new Secretary practically abandoned all intervention.

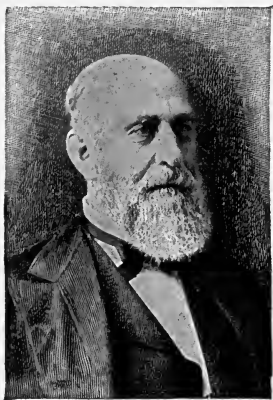
Adventurers who had been at work for the Peruvian Company made broadcast allegations of corruption and improper influences resorted to by them in pushing their scheme. The House of Representatives ordered an investigation, and in due time Mr. Blaine came before its committee. He complained that at an earlier session of the committee Mr. Belmont, a member, had garbled and misconstrued language which he had used in a despatch. Mr. Belmont persisted in declaring his interpretation correct. "I am not in a police court to be badgered," said the ex-Secretary. The verbal duel became a running fire of retorts, culminating when Mr. Blaine repeated the accusation of misconstruing his despatches and characterized Mr. Belmont's words as untruthful. Growing livid, Belmont retorted: "I believe you are a bully and a coward." The committee adjourned in consternation, and for a week the country rang with the echoes of the combat.

Blaine consistently held to the principle, placing him at variance with most of his official friends, that the Southrons themselves must remedy the evils of their elections. Later than the events with which this Chapter deals, he opposed the principle of an ultra-protective tariff as wrought into the McKinley bill. The immediate credit of the reciprocity feature

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

in that law belonged to him. His foreign policy looked to a federation of the Western Hemisphere. He elaborated the Bureau of American Republics. His letter of invitation to the American Peace Congress, issued November 29, 1881, was revoked by his successor; but efforts to this end, renewed under Harrison, resulted in a Pan-American Conference, presided over by Blaine himself, from which Chile alone went away disaffected. Mr. Blaine's life and travels from 1881 to 1884 cannot be remarked upon here. Though the year 1884 found him in private station, he was not forgotten.

The Convention of 1884 met in Chicago on June 3d. The delegates committed to Blaine were nearly all present by the 2d and in jubilant mood. The despatches of that day



GEORGE F. EDMUNDS

strongly indicated that Blaine would win; but the *New York Times*, Blaine's doughtiest foe among the Republican papers, would not admit this. It urged Edmunds for nomination, or, in case he proved unavailable, Robert T. Lincoln, a man owing no political debts. The *Times* pointed out that men born after Gettysburg and Vicksburg could vote this year, and that, therefore, even a sound candidate, to win, needed something besides fame won in debating war issues.

It was eleven o'clock on the 3d before any number of delegates entered the vast hall. Crowds—smaller, indeed, than in 1880—filled the galleries. The New York delegation formed at the Grand Pacific Hotel, and marched two by two to the wigwam. The gazing populace fell back to let them pass, while cheering lustily for the Empire State. First came George William Curtis, chairman, arm in arm with Titus Sheard; next Theodore Roosevelt paired with President Andrew D. White, of Cornell. Beneath the blue ensign,

EARLY PROCEEDINGS OF CHICAGO CONVENTION

bearing in great gold letters the legend "New York," Curtis took his seat. On the same row, but as far from Curtis as he could get, sat ex-Senator Platt, "devoting his time chiefly to the stroking of his short, silky beard." The band played "Prithee, pretty maiden, will you marry me," as General Mahone, at the head of his Virginia delegation, came in, wearing his broad-brimmed white hat and his curiously fashioned trousers and coat, an immense yellow rose adorning the lapel of the last-named garment. Order was called at a quarter past twelve.

Most of the Arthur delegates, before the proceedings began, considered their candidate beaten; yet the Convention's first act heartened them a little. Stephen B. Elkins, managing for Blaine, had worked up a Blaine-Logan combination, influenced by which the National Committee was induced to recommend to the Convention Blaine's friend, Powell Clayton, of Arkansas, for temporary chairman. This Henry Cabot Lodge opposed by nominating the Honorable J. R. Lynch, a colored Senator from Mississippi, George William Curtis and Theodore Roosevelt seconding the nomination in telling speeches. On roll-call, Lynch was found to have defeated Clayton by a number of votes. The Blaineites received another slight snub. A resolution like that which Conkling invented in 1880 was introduced at their instance, that every delegate taking part in the convention was "bound in honor to support the nominee." Against this George William Curtis protested, saying, "A Republican and a free man I came to this convention, and by the grace of God a Republican and a free man will I go." The resolution was withdrawn.



STEPHEN B. ELKINS

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

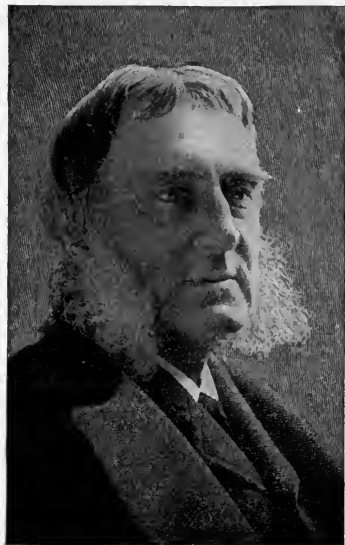
Notwithstanding all this, Blaine's star was clearly in the ascendant. To defeat his nomination all his opponents needed to unite upon Arthur. Arthur had considerable strength owing to his patronage as President, but it proved a broken reed. The Arthur men pleaded with Curtis, Cabot Lodge and Roosevelt, who did their best against Blaine, to turn from Edmunds to Arthur. "Clinging to Edmunds you will surely nominate Blaine," they said. But between Blaine and Arthur the Edmunds men saw little to choose, believing, wisely, so it now seems, that if nominated Arthur would be defeated. They tried to bring out Robert T. Lincoln, a dark horse groomed by the *New York Times*. All in vain. At each ballot Blaine gained while Arthur lost. Edmunds, Logan and John Sherman also lost. Hawley gained two votes on the fourth ballot. Lincoln jumped from four to eight on the third, but sank to two on the fourth. There was "noted a curious tendency in the knees of some of the Edmunds men, particularly those from Massachusetts, to knock together audibly whenever the name of Blaine was mentioned in their hearing," and they, little by little, deserted their favorite. Under the management of Powell Clayton, Arkansas started a bolt of Southern delegates away from Arthur. Assured that himself could not win, Logan turned over to Blaine his Illinois delegation. Upon the fourth ballot "the Plumed Knight" was nominated. The name of John A. Logan, "the Black Eagle," occupied the second place upon the ticket.

The announcement of Blaine's nomination unleashed the latent insanity of ten thousand people within the hall. Hats were thrown high in air, umbrellas whirled around, the State shields torn down and borne proudly upon filial breasts. The crowd outside caught the contagion, and soon a shrill chorus of tug whistles could be heard from the Chicago River. The climax was reached when some one brought and laid upon the chairman's desk a floral helmet, with snowy plume of finest

THEY BOLT THE TICKET.

imported horsehair. The noise redoubled, men took off their coats and waved them, women laughed, or cried, or fainted, impartially. Thus was sounded the key-note of the Republican campaign. A spectator might have noticed one or two silent patches in the great hall in the midst of the overwhelming enthusiasm. These patches, flouted at the time, grew more significant when immediately after the convention many conspicuous party men, especially in the East, and several considerable party organs, led by the *New York Times*, declared that they would not support the ticket.

Spite of all that could be said in his favor, Blaine's nomination evoked the bitterest rancor. The Stalwarts had never forgiven him their discomfiture at his hands in 1880, but they were not now his most serious opponents. Those whom he had deepest reason to fear had been disaffected by his jingo foreign policy, or because they believed him corrupt, or partly for one of these reasons and partly for the other. "I was at the birth of the Republican party," remarked Curtis, "and I fear I am to witness its death." On June 5th the *Times* said



GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS

editorially, "The thoughtful opponents of Blaine have seen with alarm that he is supported by all the political adventurers, star-route sympathizers, and admirers of loose methods in government." On June 7th, the morning after the nomination, it added: "The *Times* will not support Mr. Blaine for the presidency. It will advise no man to vote for him." After boldly predicting his defeat, it further declared: "That defeat will be the salvation of the Republican Party. It will arouse its torpid conscience,

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

it will stir it to self-purification, it will depose the false leaders who have fastened themselves upon it, it will send the rogues to the background, and will make the party once more worthy of honor and of power in the republic it has so nobly served." The New York *Evening Post*, the Boston *Advertiser*, the Boston *Herald*, and the Springfield *Republican* also joined the bolt.

"Mr. Blaine was the incarnation of all the good and all the evil of the Republican organization. He, as much as any surviving statesman of the period immediately succeeding the War of Secession, aided in framing the legislation which resulted in the perpetual extinguishment of slavery, and made its return in the crude form of human bondage thenceforth impossible. On the other hand, those organizations which were developed outside of governmental institutions, but which possessed vast influence and strength, such as the railway corporations and the large landed property organizations, the telegraph and other instrumentalities of commerce, more or less dependent upon congressional favor or congressional non-action for their financial success, had in him a steadfast ally. His administration of the office of Secretary of State under President Garfield was also of a character to give conservative men considerable apprehension. During the period from 1865 to 1884 the greatest extravagance with reference to gifts of land and concessions to corporate greed prevailed and was indulged in by the national legislature. It is true that in that period no well-formed public opinion antagonized this abuse of power, inasmuch as the danger resulting from these aggregations of capital and *quasi* public trusts in the hands of persons not responsible to the people was not at that time felt, or had, at all events, not so clearly manifested itself as during a later period. Mr. Blaine was, during the whole of this period, an active legislator and political leader, and was, therefore, most vulnerable to criticism by a better-informed public

THE MUGWUMP RESOLUTIONS

opinion in consequence of his participation in this mischievous drift of public legislation.”*

As early as December, 1883, certain Republicans of Boston had started a movement “in behalf of the adoption of measures and the nomination of men fitted to command the hearty approval and support of the independent, thoughtful, and discriminating voters of the United States.” As a result a conference of Independent Republicans was called in New York on February 23d, which “*Resolved*, That it is indispensable to the success of the Republican Party that the character, record and associations of its candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States should be such as to warrant entire confidence in their readiness to defend the advance already made toward divorcing the public service from party politics, and to continue these advances until the separation has been made final and complete.”

General Francis C. Barlow, of New York, was made chairman of a committee “to provide for the interchange and practical expression of opinion in harmony with the foregoing resolution, and to continue such action in relation thereto as they may deem expedient.” On May 12th the committee sent a circular to the Republican National Convention. Being ignored in the Convention, a conference of Independent Republicans, held in New York on June 16th, and presided over by George William Curtis, adopted the following resolutions:

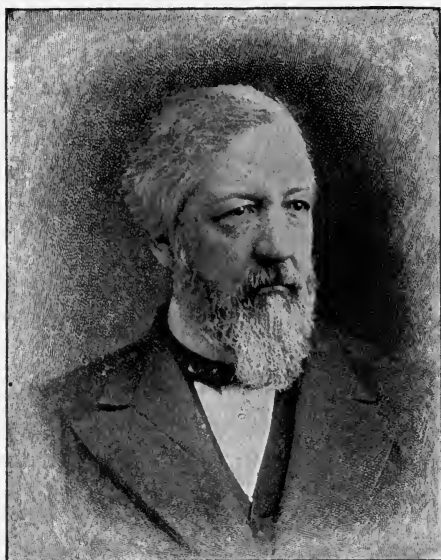
“*Whereas*, We are met in conference as Republicans and Independents to take action in opposition to the nominations of James G. Blaine for President, and John A. Logan for Vice-President of the United States; and

“*Whereas*, These candidates were named in absolute disregard of the reform sentiment of the nation, and representing political methods and principles to which we are unalterably opposed:

“*Resolved*, That it is our conviction that the country will be

*Simon Sterne.

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



JAMES G. BLAINE

better served by opposing these nominations than by supporting them."

"*Resolved*, That we look with solicitude to the coming nominations by the Democratic Party; they have the proper men; we hope they will put them before the people for election."

This overture had a profound effect upon the Democratic managers. By pitting against Blaine a man hostile to machine politics and committed to

administrative reform, they had a clear chance to win. Such a man was Grover Cleveland. He had been born in Caldwell, N. J., March 18, 1837, his father a Presbyterian clergyman. When the future President was four years old his father removed to Fayetteville, N. Y. Here the lad found employment in the "general store" at \$50 a year, sweeping and cleaning out, opening and closing the store, and waiting on customers.

A former boy companion of Cleveland's, an old farmer, told of having once soundly thrashed the future President. He said "it was one of those old-fashioned rough-and-tumble fights, in which each fellow pulls hair, scratches, kicks and cuffs to his heart's content. I was a much more powerful lad than Grover. Soon I had him down. I kept yelling out to him, 'You will stick pins in my seat, will you! You will, will you!' And, each time, I hit him another bat in the eye or neck. Well, Shell Pratt and Jewett Dunbar finally pulled me off, made us shake hands, and declared the

GROVER CLEVELAND'S EARLY CAREER

fight over with victory for me." The vanquished remembered this history and long subsequently invited the victor to take dinner with him at the chief mansion in the United States.

One who was Cleveland's boy room-mate at Fayetteville said: "We lay upon a tick stuffed with straw, which had the uncomfortable peculiarity of accumulating in knobs here and there. I recall how, often, in the night, Grover would stir uneasily in his hard bed, maybe even getting up and with his hand reaching down in the tick to remove the troublesome lump on which he had been resting. In that room, without carpet, without wall-paper, without pictures, drear and desolate, we two lived together one whole year. In the winter we sometimes fairly froze. There was no stove in the room, heat coming up from a pipe leading from the store below. Rats ran in the walls and often peered at us from out holes in the plaster."

Young Cleveland's education, so far as it went, was completed at Clinton, N. Y. In his seventeenth year he became a clerk and an assistant teacher in the New York Institution for the Blind. In 1855 he started west to secure more lucrative employment, but was induced to stop at Buffalo. He was soon at work in a law office there, as clerk and copyist, at \$4 per week. Two years later he was admitted to the bar, retaining for some time his clerkship, first at \$600 a year, then at \$1,000. In 1863 he was chosen Assistant District Attorney of Erie County, in 1870 Sheriff of the county. In 1881, by a union of Republicans, Democrats, Independents and "Reformers," he was elected Mayor of Buffalo. His conviction, to which he in good degree adhered, was that a city's affairs should be administered with the least practicable regard for mere politics, "as a good business man manages his private concerns." Pursuing this policy he soon became known as the "Veto Mayor," saving the city much money by his fearless use of the negative. In 1882, as we have seen, by the support of the same elements which elected him Mayor and by

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

the chance of a bitter Republican quarrel in his State, Mr. Cleveland was triumphant in his canvass for the governorship. As Governor he practiced a strict Jeffersonian simplicity, keeping no carriage and living within his official salary. To each public question on which he had to act he gave personal attention and study, thus performing an amount of work which would have killed a weaker man.

Unlike his rival for the Presidency, Mr. Cleveland had held no office requiring him to take ground upon any momentous public question or concern before the people. As Governor of New York he had proved an excellent official, and except his inexperience in federal affairs nothing could be said of him to indicate that he would not do well as Chief Magistrate of the United States. Mr. Cleveland represented more thoroughly than did his adversary the growing feeling in favor of retiring the questions which arose from the war, and of so dealing with political matters as to conserve the interests of the whole community instead of the interests of mere classes.

The Democratic Convention met in Chicago on July 8th. The call had "cordially invited" "all Democratic Conservative citizens of the United States, irrespective of past associations and differences," who could unite "in the effort for pure, economical and constitutional government," to join in sending delegates. Democratic public opinion had fixed upon Cleveland as the party's standard-bearer, and its mandate to nominate him was strengthened by the Republican revolt against Blaine. Tammany vehemently opposed Cleveland, Thomas F. Grady making before the Convention a long tirade against him, which, however, quickened the cause it was meant to kill. General Bragg, of Wisconsin, speaking for the young men of his State, said: "They love Cleveland and respect him not only for himself, for his character, for his integrity and judgment and iron will, but they love him most for the enemies he has made." Though requiring a two-thirds vote, Cleveland's nomination necessitated but a second ballot, this

ATTITUDE OF THE OLD DEMOCRACY



GROVER CLEVELAND

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giving him 683 votes in a total of 820. His closest competitor, Thomas A. Hendricks, received the nomination for Vice-President.

The old, staid Democracy did not hail Cleveland's nomination with enthusiasm. There was a feeling among them that he was more a Mugwump than a Democrat, and that his nomination had been secured by efforts of Democrats little in touch with the masses.

Hendricks was named not

because he was the choice of the men who manipulated the Convention, but for the reason that, having put in the first place the man they wanted, they wished the aid of Hendricks and such as he in carrying the election. Four years later Allen G. Thurman was nominated for the same reason.

On July 22d, the Independents, or "Mugwumps," as they now began to be called, issued an address recommending Republican and Independent voters to support Cleveland. The response was wide and enthusiastic. The Independents took an active part in the canvass, distributing innumerable documents and furnishing many of the best speakers. In this service Carl Schurz was foremost. George William Curtis, too, who had not followed Greeley in 1872, threw the weight of his influence for the Democratic nominee. It is to be noted, however, that by no means all Republicans of independent tendencies took this course. A great number, men of eminence and spotless integrity, deemed Blaine the object

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

of unjust attacks, and warmly espoused his cause. Such were Senator Hoar, William Walter Phelps and the poet Whittier.* Many other Reform Republicans regarded the Democracy with such distrust that they supported Blaine when nominated, though opposing his nomination. Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge represented this class. Senator Edmunds, while doing naught to hinder Blaine's election, could not be led to speak or write a word in his behalf. Even the anti-Blaine Republicans took pains to advertise that they supported Cleveland not as a Democrat, but as "a platform in himself" and "better than his party." They wished not so much to put the Democratic party in power as to put Cleveland personally in power. They supported Cleveland not because he was a Democrat, but because he was Cleveland, rejecting Blaine not as a Republican, but simply as Blaine.

Mr. Blaine's nomination made the campaign personal. To balance the hard things said of him, the early pages of Cleveland's life were searched for blots. A few were perhaps found, yet the general fruitlessness of the quest was impressively in the candidate's favor. With aught of corruption in public life no one thought of charging him, his record in this particular being absolutely stainless. Blaine was less happy here. If he was far from being the unprincipled trickster so often pictured, he had been less scrupulous in office than his best admirers could have wished.

Mr. Blaine took an intensely practical view of politics. With the "sublimated theories of so-called reformers" he never sympathized. Of these "unco guid," as he called them, he wrote Garfield, in 1880: "They are to be treated with respect, but they are the worst possible political advisers—upstarts, conceited, foolish, vain, without knowledge of measures, ignorant of men, shouting a shibboleth which represents

*On November 28, 1884, Whittier wrote: "I am awfully vexed by the result of the election. Our candidate made such a splendid canvass and would have been triumphantly chosen over Democrats and Independents, but for the miserable John-Johns."

BLAINE'S MAGNETISM

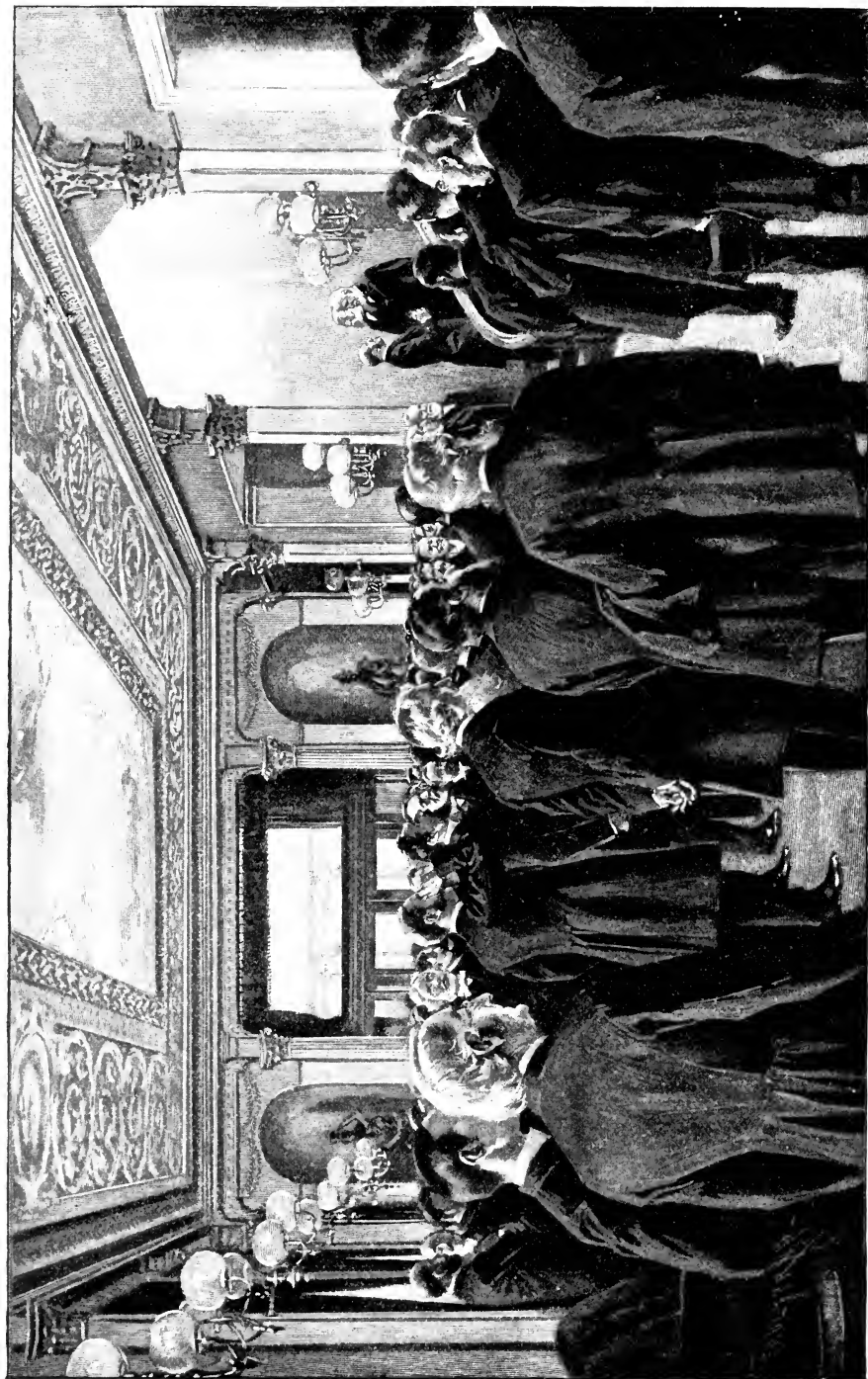
nothing of practical reform that you are not a thousand times pledged to ! They are noisy, but not numerous ; pharisaical, but not practical ; ambitious, but not wise ; pretentious, but not powerful ! ” Over Blaine men went insane in pairs, for his “ magnetism ” either strongly attracted or strongly repelled whatever came within his field. Hatred of him was rancorous, and it usually told, since his long public career, like an extended sea-coast, was at a disadvantage on the defensive. Love for the man was equally uncompromising, most so at the West, while the defection from him was most pronounced in the East. People not the reverse of sensible likened him to Clay, some of them to Washington. In West Virginia a man risked his life by holding to the rear platform of Blaine’s private car as it left the station, begging for some memento of the hero to hang in his house and show his children. Mr. Blaine himself thus described another illustrative incident : “ I had the felicity of N——’s company, who dwelt at length on the greatness and grandeur of my character. He intimated that compared with me Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were ‘ small potatoes ’—all of which in a car and in a loud voice, with many people listening, may be called pleasant entertainment.”

Well had it been for James G. Blaine had he always remembered the sage words of Salmon P. Chase, uttered when he was Secretary of the Treasury, as a reason for refusing to accept \$4,200, which represented an increase in value on stocks that he had ordered but not paid for : “ To be able to render the most efficient service to our country it is essential for me to *be* right as well as to *seem* right, and to *seem* right as well as to *be* right.” It was recited that in 1869, when a bill to renew a land grant for the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad was to be saddled with a fatal amendment, Speaker Blaine, at the request of Arkansas members, had Logan make, while he sustained, a point of order removing the incubus ; that he subsequently called the promoters’ attention to his agency in the matter, endeavoring to be let

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into the enterprise "on the ground floor," in which he failed, though appointed selling agent of the bonds with a large commission. Blaine's friends replied that the ruling was proper, being made to frustrate a vicious lobby job and save a desirable piece of legislation which had passed the Senate unanimously. Judge Black, a Democrat, deemed the refutation of the charge wholly satisfactory. Unfortunately, Mr. Blaine's assertion that the Little Rock road derived all its benefits from Arkansas and not from Congress was inaccurate, since the bill so narrowly saved was one renewing the land grant to the State for the railroad. Blaine's assailants considered this statement clearly a falsehood. Hard to justify was Mr. Blaine's denial of "any transaction of any kind with Thomas A. Scott" concerning Little Rock bonds or railway business. That, through Scott and Caldwell, he did put off upon the Union Pacific some Little Rock bonds at a high price seems certain from a letter which he received from Fisher, with his reply.

Blaine unquestionably offered to get Caldwell an allotment in a new distribution of national bank circulation, writing: "It will be to some extent a matter of favoritism who gets the banks in the several localities, and it will be in my power to cast 'an anchor to the windward' in your behalf if you desire it." Indelicate, if you please, one does not see how this offer necessarily involved corruption. It would seem that Blaine permitted himself to be paid twice over for a loan of \$25,000, once by sale of the collateral, realizing \$30,000, and once, by judgment of the court, from the reorganized Little Rock Company. The utmost was made of a letter and a telegram from Blaine to Fisher, both dated April 16, 1876, coaching Fisher as to the form of vindication for himself. "I want you to send me such a letter as the enclosed draft," he wrote, and, at the bottom, "Burn this letter." At the time of the famous Caldwell cablegram, too, it was discovered that an anonymous despatch had been sent Caldwell similar



"THE PARTY OF RUM, ROMANISM AND REBELLION"

The Reception given by Ministers to Mr. Blaine at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, October 29, 1884, at which the "Borchard Incident" took place
Drawn by T. de Thulstrup, from photographs and descriptions by eyewitnesses

J. M. King
S. D. Borchard
J. G. Blaine

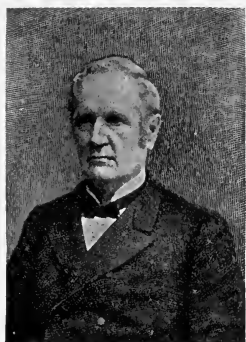
“RUM, ROMANISM AND REBELLION”

in tenor to the one returned. Suspicion was thus aroused that all vindictory statements used on behalf of Blaine had been prepared by him.

A Tammany orator said that no Irishman or Catholic would vote for Cleveland. Mr. Blaine was hostile to the political solidarity of any race or religion, and in this respect his influence—attracting Romanists to his party and repelling anti-Catholic zealots—was wholly good. His religion, he said, was Christianity tintured with the Presbyterianism of the Blaines and the Catholicism of the Gillespies. “I would not for a thousand presidencies,” he declared, “speak a disrespectful word of my mother’s religion.” Had he lived and continued dominant in Republican councils neither “A. P. A.-ism” nor any Romish counterpart thereof could have arisen.

Whether or not any influence for Blaine emanated from the Catholic clergy, many Irishmen and Catholics sedulously wrought to elect him. This drove some Protestant voters to Cleveland. Nevertheless the vast majority of the Protestant clergy throughout the North strongly favored Blaine. As the campaign drew to its close a goodly party of them waited on their candidate at the Fifth Avenue Hotel to assure him of their unwavering devotion. One Dr. Burchard made the address-in-chief. Apparently holding the Democracy responsible for all the evils of intemperance, religious bigotry and the war, he ascribed to it the three damning “R’s,” “Rum, Romanism and Rebellion.” A story not wholly dissimilar was told of Blaine’s father, to the effect that when running for protonotary he seemed likely to suffer from a charge that he was a Catholic because his wife was. Mr. Blaine went to the family priest for a certificate of non-membership, which was duly furnished, as follows: “This is to certify that Ephraim L. Blaine is not now and never was a member of the Catholic Church. Furthermore, in my opinion, he is not fit to be a member of any church.” The certificate was effectual, and Mr. Blaine triumphantly elected. Not so happy the *dénouement*

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THOMAS A. HENDRICKS

in our Blaine's case. Burchard's ridiculous alliteration "stuck" in an ugly way in people's minds, and, much as was done to show its insignificance, no doubt lost Blaine many votes. Some thought these enough, if saved, to have made him President.

The Tammany men, after all, mostly voted for Cleveland. Many Democrats foresaw that without Tammany's support New York would be lost, and thereby the election. Governor Hendricks, candidate for the Vice-Presidency, strongly felt this, and though a thousand miles away, decided to visit the Empire State as a peace-maker. He sought John Kelly, then the absolute chief of Tammany Hall, finding him greatly alienated from the party. Kelly insisted that Grover Cleveland was not a Democrat, that he had no claim upon true Democrats for their support, and that if he should be elected he would betray his party. Their conference lasted far into the night. Mr. Hendricks employed all his eloquence and art to persuade Mr. Kelly to favor the ticket. Finally the chief said: "Governor Hendricks, for your sake we will do it. You may go home with my assurance that Tammany Hall will do its duty."

The early returns gave Cleveland the solid South, besides Connecticut, New Jersey and Indiana. The rest of the North was Republican, save New York, which was in painful doubt and remained so for days. The Empire State was the umpire State. The excitement pending conclusive returns exceeded even that of 1876. Good-humored bluff and chaffing gave way to dangerous irritation as the suspense dragged on. Thursday, November 6th, saw an outbreak in Indianapolis, when the loyal hosts of Democracy sought to carry their banner into the post-office. This

EXCITEMENT OVER THE RETURNS

premature effort to capture that citadel failed, and the banner was torn to bits, which Republican defenders wore as badges. In Kansas, St. John, the Prohibitionist candidate for President, was burned in effigy. The "Rebel Brigadiers" were the most hilarious, making the Southern sky lurid with fireworks, and the air vocal with salutes, none under a hundred guns. Montgomery on November 6th doubled the number of guns in each salute, and on the 7th four hundred were required to voice her joy. In Boston the streets near newspaper offices were packed solid. Every new bulletin evoked cheers and hoots. A picture, now of Blaine, now of Cleveland, would be raised in air only to be at once seized and shredded. A crowd threw stones and rotten eggs at the *Journal* Building, breaking a large plate-glass window. In New York conflicting statements given out by the great dailies inflamed the populace. The *Tribune* and the *Mail and Express* early ceased to issue bulletins, but the *Herald* and the *World* kept on, showing majorities for Cleveland. The *Sun* office, where Associated Press despatches favorable to Blaine alternated with the *Sun's* own despatches giving the State to Cleveland, drew the vastest throngs. Six hundred men marched down Broadway shouting "No, no, Blaine won't go!" It being suspected that Jay Gould and the Associated Press were withholding or perverting returns, a crowd demonstrated in front of the Western Union Building with the yell, "Hang Jay Gould!" but policemen soon dispersed them. Some two hundred men before the *Tribune* office burned copies of that paper. So threatening did the excitement become in Chicago that on November 7th Mayor Harrison requested the papers to cease issuing bulletins. In Boston bulletins were discontinued. In Philadelphia political clubs were directed not to parade, persons blowing horns or masquerading on the streets being liable to arrest.

The Democratic managers professed apprehension lest the "fraud of '76" should be repeated in a new guise, and

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were determined to prevent this. The Electoral Commission, however, now proved to be, to the Democracy, a blessing in disguise. Its rule, "not to go behind the returns," had been made the New York law for procedure like that in hand, and as, upon a count under the most rigid scrutiny, the New York returns footed up a Cleveland plurality of a trifle over a thousand votes, post-election manipulation was impossible. Including those of New York, Cleveland received 219 electoral votes to Blaine's 182. The popular vote reached beyond 10,000,000, of which 4,911,000 were for Cleveland, giving him a plurality over Blaine of 62,000.

CHAPTER IV

A DEMOCRAT AT THE HELM

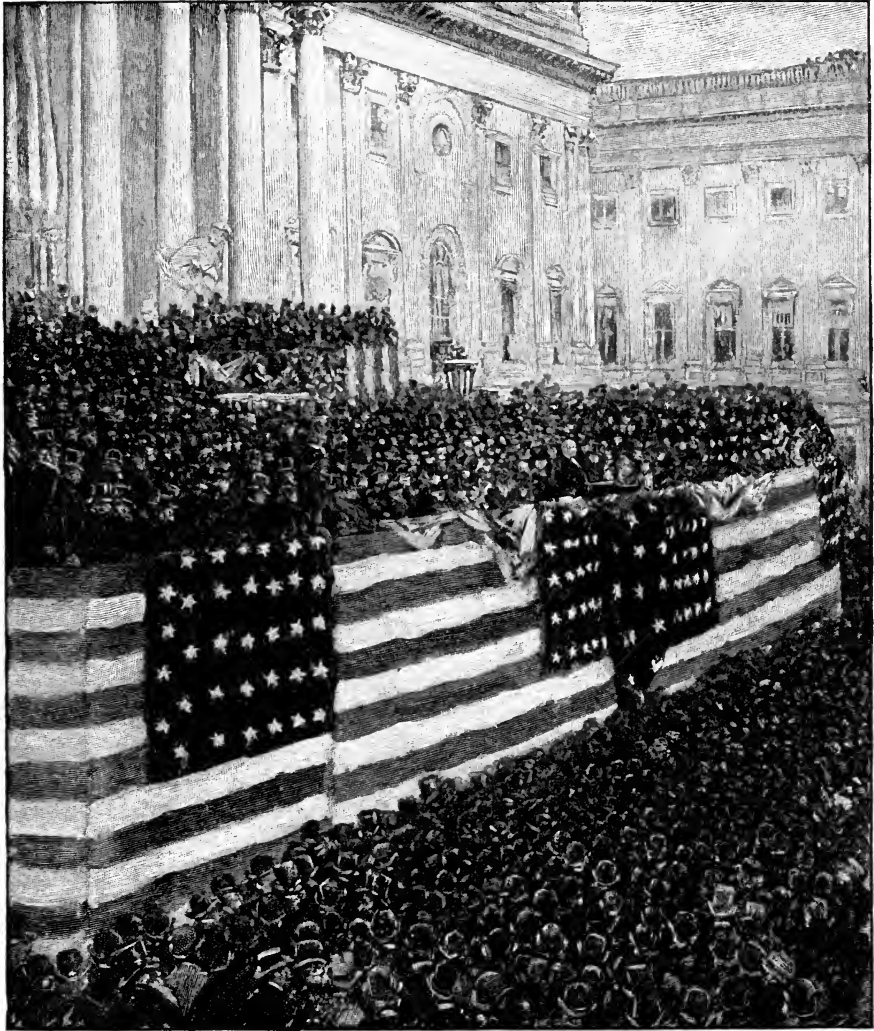
FOREBODINGS AFTER CLEVELAND'S ELECTION.—THE DEMOCRACY JUBILANT.—GENERAL EXCELLENCE OF THE ADMINISTRATION.—THE PRESIDENT'S MANNERS.—HIS MARRIAGE.—A WHITE HOUSE WEDDING.—GOOD LAWS PASSED BY THE FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS.—THE INTER-STATE COMMERCE ACT.—PROVISIONS AND DEFECTS.—THE NEW NAVY.—A NAVAL ADVISORY BOARD.—ITS RECOMMENDATIONS.—NAVAL PROGRESS UNDER CLEVELAND.—THE ATLANTA COMPARED WITH THE CONSTITUTION.—FRIGATES AND BATTLE-SHIPS.—OUR WAR VESSELS AT THE KIEL FETE.—UTTERANCES OF LA PATRIE.—THE COLUMBIA'S SWIFT RACE HOME.—HER WELCOME.—THE CHARLESTON EARTHQUAKE.—HELLGATE REEFS BLOWN UP.—JACOB SHARP'S OPERATIONS IN NEW YORK CITY.—THE DUSKIN SUSPENSION CASE.—REPEAL OF THE TENURE OF OFFICE ACT.—CLEVELAND AND THE CIVIL SERVICE.—SUCCESS AND FAILURE AS A REFORMER.—UNPOPULARITY.—THE PAN-ELECTRIC SCANDAL.—PENSION VETOES.—BAD PENSION LEGISLATION.—VETO OF THE DEPENDENT PENSION BILL.—THE REBEL FLAG ORDER.—ATTITUDE OF THE GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC.—HOW THE REPUBLICANS BECAME A HIGH-TARIFF PARTY.—THE TARIFF QUESTION IN 1884.—BROUGHT UP BY THE PLETHORIC STATE OF THE TREASURY.—MESSAGE OF DECEMBER, 1885.—OF 1887.—“A CONDITION, NOT A THEORY.”—THE MILLS BILL PASSES THE HOUSE BUT DIES IN THE SENATE.—THE FISHERIES DISPUTE.—OF LONG STANDING.—STRAINED RELATIONS WITH CANADA IN 1886.—RETALIATION PROPOSED.—JOINT COMMISSION OF 1887.—FAILURE OF PROPOSED TREATY.—MODUS VIVENDI.—SUBSIDENCE OF THE TROUBLE.—THE NORTHWESTERN FISHERIES IMBROGLIO.—TREATY OF 1892.—ARBITRATION.—POINTS DETERMINED.—PROVISION FOR A JOINT POLICE OF BEHRING SEA.

THE election of Grover Cleveland, the first Democrat to press the presidential chair after Buchanan left it in 1861, brought grief to millions of honest hearts. On assurance that Cleveland had really won, an old lady exclaimed: “Well, the poor won’t have any work this winter, that’s certain!” A college president discoursed lugubriously to his students upon the Democratic victory, as portending he knew not what of ill. Many good souls thought the

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Government in effect at an end. Those of less pessimistic temper prophesied simply a financial panic. "The South is again in the saddle," still others said; "slavery will be restored." Most Republicans supposed that the new President would, at the very least, fill every office with a Democrat. The Democracy, with exceptions, was correspondingly jubilant. Over a hundred thousand people visited the capital to view the Inauguration Day ceremonies, and a quarter as many actually marched in the procession. Of this both colored troops and ex-Confederates formed part. The inaugural address was received with great enthusiasm, even Republican Senators and Representatives publicly expressing approval of its tone. The Cabinet was on every hand pronounced an able one, and nearly all the great diplomatic offices abroad were filled with first-rate men.

Those who predicted that the President would be inefficient proved false prophets. The Treasury he administered with economy. The development of our Navy was continued, systematized and accelerated. No clean sweep of office-holders occurred, and where a colored man was displaced a colored man succeeded him, provided a good one could be found. Extensive land grants, shown to be fraudulent, were declared forfeited. Cattle kings were forced to remove their herds from Indian reservations. Federal troops kept "boomers" from public lands. A conspiracy by members of the railway postal service to strike was nipped in the bud and the conspirators discharged. When, on March 31, 1885, the Prestan rebels in Panama seized an American ship, marines were promptly landed on both sides of the isthmus to maintain the rights and dignity of this Republic. Such vigor in administration soon convinced all that the ship of state was safe with a Democrat at the helm. In the self-command, independence and executive ability which he displayed, the President exceeded the expectations of his friends, and disappointed his enemies. He performed his exacting duties



THE INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT CLEVELAND

The President delivering his Inaugural Address from the grand central portico of the Capitol, March 4, 1885

Painted by Childe Hassam from photographs

A WEDDING IN THE WHITE HOUSE

with dignity and intelligence, was straightforward in his actions, and did not seek popularity by drifting with the current. Whatever else might be said against him, none could call him a demagogue. If in the exercise of his appointing and removing power he made some mistakes, the wonder was, all things considered, that he made so few. Though a Democrat, he was yet President of all the people. In manners he continued at Washington to be what he had been at Buffalo and at Albany—simple without any affectation of simplicity. Like Blaine, he wrote with his own hand his official papers. Even his wedding invitations were autographs.

A few weeks after his inauguration as President, was announced Mr. Cleveland's engagement to Miss Frances Folsom, the daughter of his friend and partner, Oscar Folsom, who had died in 1875. They were married on June 2, 1886, at the Executive Mansion. The old edifice had already been the scene of eight nuptial ceremonies, but all these had been very private. Now, however, the occasion could not but have public significance, since for the first time the President of the United States was a principal party. Ferns, azaleas and hydrangeas in the windows, choice cut flowers banked on the four mantels, smilax pendent from the chandeliers, foliage plants in the fireplace and a cluster of tall palms near the east wall decorated the East Room, whose four garlanded columns bore each a floral shield in the national colors. The Blue Room, where the marriage ceremony took place, was transfigured to a bower: on the south side a tropical grove, groups of flowering plants at the main entrance and near the centre, and the fireplace glowing with a floral counterfeit of flames. Upon the east mantel the happy day was calendared in pansies. The opposite mantel bore a rose bank, shading off from light at the edges to a dark centre, in which was imbedded the monogram "C. F." in moss and white roses. A little before seven a small company were received in this apartment by the President's sisters, Mrs. Hoyt and Miss Cleveland. The Cabinet,

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

save Attorney-General Garland, were of the number, the rest, aside from the officiating clergyman and his wife, being intimate friends either of the bride or of the bridegroom. Miss Folsom entered the room on the President's arm, the company falling back in a semicircle, while the Marine Band, in resplendent uniforms, rendered Mendelssohn's Wedding March. The music was followed by a sovereign salute of twenty-one guns and the ringing of church bells in the city. Meanwhile the marriage ceremony was concluded, and Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland left Washington for the summer cottage they had taken.

Antagonistic as Cleveland and the Republicans were, some good laws passed the Forty-ninth Congress, among them the Inter-State Commerce Act, placing the great railroads of the country under the general government's supervision. This was meant to remedy the unfair discrimination in railway facilities and charges theretofore prevalent between different persons and different places. The "dead-head" system had grown alarmingly. Favored shippers obtained rates enabling them to crush their rivals by this advantage alone; and long-haul tariffs were far too low in comparison with those for short hauls. Shippers of freight from Rochester to San Francisco had found it profitable to pay transportation charges first to New York City, their goods then going straight back through Rochester again. The act of February 4, 1887, forbade special rates to special shippers. It provided that all charges for the transportation of passengers or property from State to State or from this to a foreign country should be "reasonable and just." Special rates, rebates, drawbacks and unjust discriminations, also all undue and unreasonable preferences, were prohibited. Freight tariffs were ordered to be conspicuously and carefully published, and could not be advanced without ten days' public notice. The act raised an able Commission of five members to administer and enforce its provisions. Any person or corporation could complain to this Commission

INTER-STATE RAILWAY LAW

against any inter-State railway, whereupon the Commission must investigate the charges. The Commission was given large power over the railways by direct prescription, command, or decree; and besides, in case a railway disobeyed it, had a right to proceed against such railway by injunction or attachment in a United States Court. It required of the railways annual reports, uniform in book-keeping, each setting forth in detail the financial condition of the company. The act inhibited charging or receiving for the carriage of passengers or a given class of freight—conditions being the same—any greater compensation for a shorter than for a longer haul over the same line in the same direction. The Commission might, however, in its discretion, suspend the operation of the short-haul clause in any case where its enforcement bade fair to work hardship, as by favoring Canadian against United States railways, or by throwing the entire traffic into the hands of carriers by water, thus forcing the railway deprived of long-haul profits into insolvency. The immense expense per mile attending local railway traffic on the transcontinental lines could not be matched in long-haul charges without depriving them entirely of their through freight business. Most of the provisions named worked well. Questionable, perhaps, was the interdiction of "pooling," which was almost universally evaded.

Another point of public policy about which the President and Congress substantially agreed was the building up of the navy. In 1881 the grand old frigate *Constitution*, her ensign at last hauled down, was put out of commission, dismantled, and placed beside the *Ticonderoga*, slowly to fall in pieces. This step had been contemplated a generation before, but the poet Holmes then procured for the venerable warrior a stay of execution by the plea beginning, "Aye, tear her tattered ensign down!" These rotting hulks typified our neglected and degenerate navy, with its thirty-seven cruisers, all but four of wood, its fourteen single-turreted monitors, built during the war, its guns all or nearly all muzzle-loading, and many of

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



WILLIAM E. CHANDLER

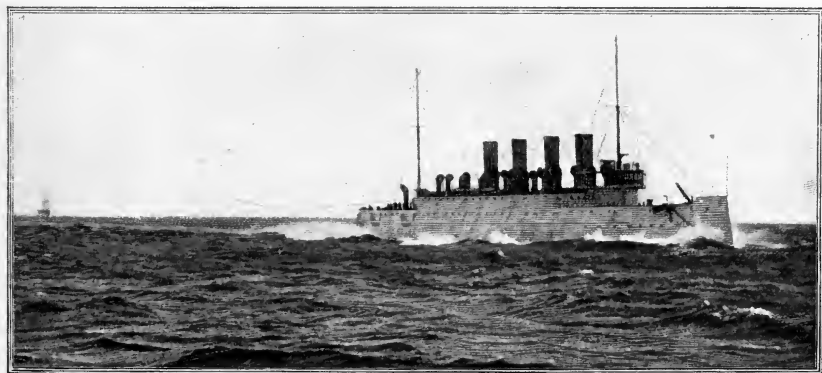
them smooth-bores. Hon. William E. Chandler, Secretary of the Navy under President Arthur, deserves the honor of being the first pungently to urge the building of a new navy worthy the American nation. Mr. Arthur cordially endorsed the recommendation. Among the most meritorious deeds of Garfield's Administration was an order signed by Secretary Hunt, in 1881, appointing a Naval Advisory Board of able and experienced officers. In its later report it recommended a programme for the next eight years, which, while involving the vast outlay of \$30,000,000, would place in commission the twenty-one iron-clads "absolutely needed," seventy unarmored cruisers, five rams, five torpedo gun-boats and twenty torpedo-boats. To make a beginning Congress authorized the construction of three unarmored cruisers, the *Atlanta*, the *Boston* and the *Chicago*, and of the despatch-boat *Dolphin*.

The policy thus entered upon was to be permanent. The Cleveland years marked important forward steps in it, and thereafter progress was continuous, rapid and splendid. To December 4, 1894, forty-seven vessels were either in commission or building, their cost varying from \$3,000,000 each for the battle-ships *Oregon*, *Massachusetts*, *Indiana* and *Iowa*, to \$25,000 for the smallest torpedo-boat. The sea-going and fighting qualities of the new ships, and the comforts and even luxuries which they provided for their officers and crews, evoked admiration both at home and abroad. Their plate was an alloy of nickel and steel, superior to any yet produced in Europe. The old *Constitution* could, with her best guns, at 1,000 yards, pierce twenty-two inches of oak, about the thickness of her own hull at water-line. The $\frac{5}{8}$ -inch steel covering at the *Atlanta's* water-line had nearly the same resisting power as the *Constitution's* twenty-two inches of oak. The *Atlanta's* 6-inch

SHIPS OF THE NEW NAVY

guns would, at 1,000 yards, bore through a surface having twenty times the resisting power of her own or the *Constitution's* hull at water-line. At the same range her 8-inch guns could pierce fourteen inches of iron. Both were, technically, "frigates," a sort of naval cavalry, to accompany and assist battle-ships as scouts, or to convoy friendly commerce and destroy that of the enemy. This predatory rôle was indeed a cowardly one, like privateering, or like land warfare upon civilians and their property ; but so long as naval tactics admitted such barbarism ships able to perpetrate it could not but be prized. The *Atlanta* could riddle her like when hull down on the horizon, while battle-ships, like the immense *Iowa*, which displaced 11,300 tons, to make any serious impression on one another must approach to within at least 4,000 yards.

At the international naval fête in 1895, when the Kiel Canal was opened, our *New York* and *Columbia* were objects of utmost curiosity. The *Columbia* was a protected cruiser 412 feet long at the load water-line, 22 feet 6 inches in mean draft, 58 feet 2 inches in breadth, with 7,375 tons displacement. Her armament consisted of one 8-inch breech-loading rifle, two 6-inch and eight 4-inch rapid-fire guns, twelve 6-pounder and four 1-pounder rapid-fire guns, and four Gatlings. Built for a commerce destroyer, though closely resem-



The United States Steamship Columbia on her Government Speed Trial
From a photograph by Rau

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

bling a merchantman, she could, like a wolf in sheep's clothing, draw fatally near her victim without exposing her true character. After the naval *fête* referred to, *La Patrie*, of Paris, said: "What has struck France and all Europe with surprise mixed with fright, is the speed of one of the vessels of the American fleet. The *Columbia* will be able to accept or refuse combat according to her wishes. She will thunder forth shot and shell or run away at will. She can with impunity cover the surface of the ocean with ruins and wrecks, or laugh at the avengers sent to pursue her. The European nation which should have the foresight to create a large number of these terrible cruisers would be unassailable, invulnerable and invincible." Of her powers to overhaul most merchantmen or to run away from battle-ships, the *Columbia* soon gave signal proof, making the trip home from Southampton under natural draught and in spite of some heavy weather—though, it is said, using extra coal and exhausting her men—in 6 days, 23 hours and 49 minutes, an average speed of 18.53 knots an hour, the best long-distance run ever made by a war-ship. For a shorter time she was good for over 22 knots. The *St. Louis*, an ocean greyhound then newly built, and the swift *Augusta Victoria*, both starting just behind the *Columbia*, failed to catch her. Great was the jubilation when, on August 2, 1895, her snowy hull, stained with spots of rust, and her four buff smoke-stacks crystallised over with salt from the waves, approached her anchorage on this side. All the standing-room on the Battery and the North River front was full of people, whose cheers joined the diversified applause. "Such a chorus of screeches, grunts, toots and shrieks is seldom heard in New York waters."

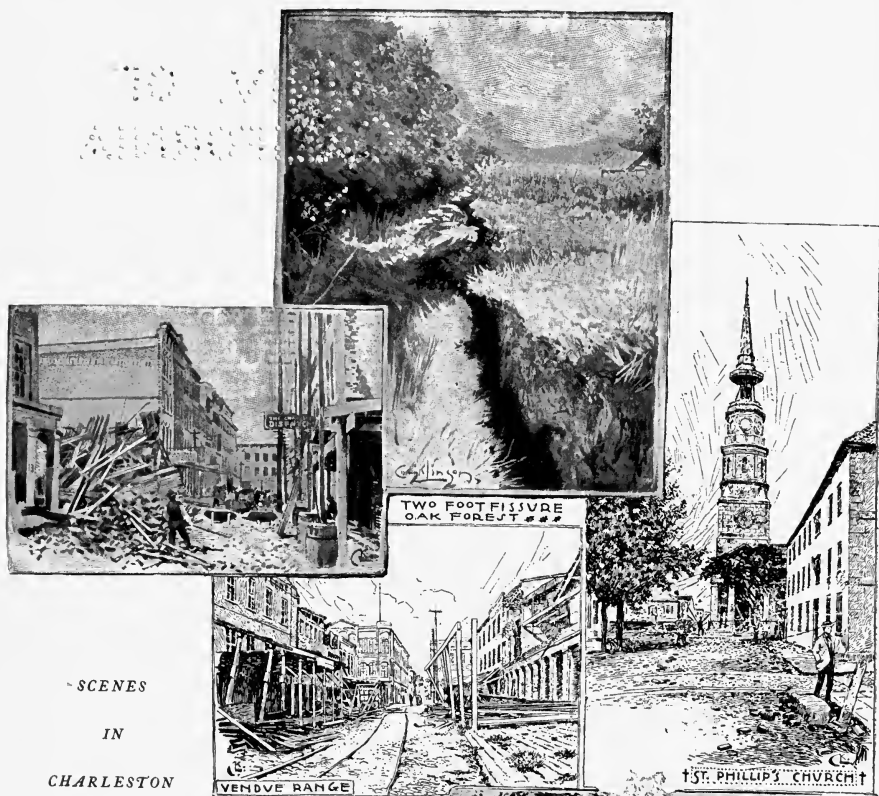
Notwithstanding this pleasant harmony of parties upon a few weighty matters, the opposition to Cleveland was resolute and bitter. Each doubtful act of his was exhibited in the worst possible light, and innumerable falsehoods forged to aggravate his discredit. If there appeared a direful portent

THE CHARLESTON EARTHQUAKE

in the sky or a deadly fever or tornado on the earth, there were not wanting persons ready to arraign the Administration therefor.

The first week of September, 1886, a destructive earthquake shook important portions of the United States. In lower New York City chandeliers were swayed and clocks stopped by the motion. Vibrations were felt from Cape Cod as far west as Chicago and Milwaukee and south to Jacksonville, Fla. The earth-dance was slight in Baltimore, alarming in Washington. The worst that occurred at other points was but a hint of the fearful fate which overtook Charleston, S. C. The horror broke upon the inhabitants in the dead of night, and so awful was the rocking and rumbling of the ground that women and children went insane. Drove of blacks rushed, frantic and half-clad, to the field and parks. A pious old negro in the midst of one dense throng, engaged in prayer. "Good Lawd," his petition ran, "*Come and help us! Oh, come now! An' come yo'self, Lawd; 'tain't no time for boys!*" The first shock occurred Tuesday night. On Friday night, when all, worn out, had sought slumber under such shelter as remained, suddenly came a new convulsion advertised by a deafening alarum like thunder. Once more the shrieking multitudes rushed to the open amid showers of bricks and plaster, negroes making the night doubly hideous with their weird lamentations. Almost precisely twenty-four hours later came a third shock, milder, but sufficient to evict the people still again. The indication that the terrestrial ague was periodic put men awatch for another disturbance on Sunday night, and they were not disappointed. At the same hour as before, the demon came amid appalling throes. Fortunately, this fourth quaking was his adieu. When the telegraph lines were again in order, permitting the world to learn what had taken place, it was found that seven-eighths of Charleston's houses had been rendered unfit for habitation, scores of persons killed and \$8,000,000 worth of property destroyed. The

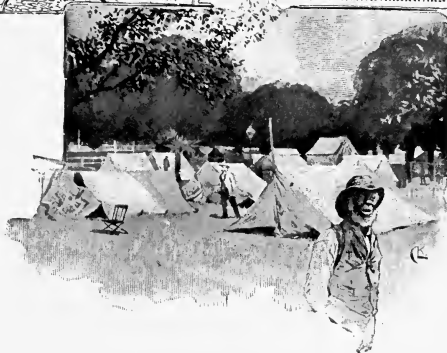
THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



SCENES
IN
CHARLESTON

AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE

handsomest streets suffered most, desolation as from innumerable dynamite explosions being visible far up and down many of them. Railroad tracks were torn awry, rifts and gullies gaping in all directions. For days all highways to the city were impassable, cutting off relief.



Camp of the Homeless on Colonial Lake

Many conjectures were uttered regarding the cause of

HALLET'S POINT REEF BLOWN UP

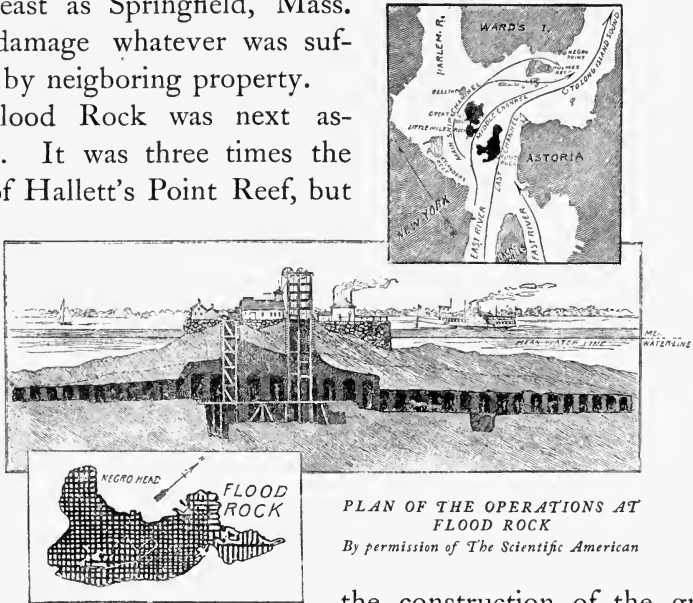
the earthquake, none very satisfactory. Fancy, however, could hardly avoid connecting it somehow with the artificial earthquake of the preceding October, when, through a brilliant piece of engineering executed by General John Newton, the channel from East River to Long Island Sound was rid of the last Hellgate ledge which dangerously choked it. Since 1884 this bit of coast had been the subject of many futile experiments. Strong tides sweeping back and forth over the reefs had strewn the spot with wrecks; yet the necessities of commerce, especially of the coastwise trade, kept it a thoroughfare. Up to 1876 the expenditure of not much less than \$2,000,000 had resulted in the demolition of only a few outworks. The Scylla and Charybdis, Hallet's Point Reef and Flood Rock, remained. The reef was made ready for annihilation by the novel method of tunnelling. The tunnels, corresponding to its semicircular form, radiated somewhat like the ribs of a fan, being connected with each other by concentric passages, the whole covering nearly three acres. Thus honeycombed, the rock was impregnated with above thirteen thousand cartridges, containing something like twenty-five tons of powder, and all were connected with electric batteries.

The experiment was so unprecedented and devised on so large a scale, that in anticipation many people living near suffered terrors as if a disastrous convulsion of nature were at hand. That the mine should be set off on Sunday, as had been arranged, was also a source of distress. General Newton, however, was unwilling to imperil life by delay. At high-tide, therefore, on Sunday, September 24, 1876, his baby daughter was allowed to touch the electric key, and instantly the thirteen thousand potent germs were hatched. For three seconds the water foamed and tumbled at a height of forty or fifty feet, cowed in thick black smoke, and ejecting fragments of rock and mud. A shock was felt in New York City, attended by a low booming sound. The tremor extended as far to the

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

northeast as Springfield, Mass. No damage whatever was suffered by neighboring property.

Flood Rock was next assailed. It was three times the size of Hallett's Point Reef, but



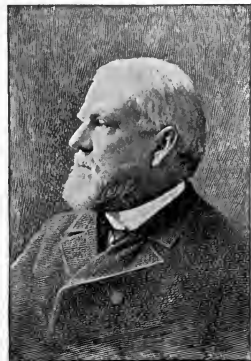
the construction of the grid-iron system of tunnels was now watched without alarm, the earlier achievement having set all qualms at rest. Dynamite was the explosive used. When all was ready, General Newton's daughter May, now eleven years of age, once more pressed the button, this time blowing about 300,000 cubic yards of reef into fragments—partly, indeed, into powder. "A tremendous volume of water rose to a height of one hundred and fifty or two hundred feet, masses of white foam shining in the sunlight, resembling the appearance of a fantastic iceberg lifted bodily upon a solid basis of dark frozen water. For five or six seconds it tumbled aloft, and then sank back into the river, where a yellow, sulphurous glow prevailed for a minute, after which the river resumed its wonted course."

We have seen that, spite of its little love toward him, Tammany almost unanimously voted for Cleveland. This had the unpleasant effect of leading such as inclined to be severe on him to lay all Tammany's sins at Cleveland's door.

JACOB SHARP IN THE RÔLE OF TWEED

And Tammany had not changed. The "boodle aldermen" scandal of 1886 emphasized the fact that the spirit of Tweed still haunted Manhattan Island. Jacob Sharp all but challenged admiration for the persistency of his assault upon the virtue of the New York City government. He secured from the aldermen his first franchise more than thirty years before (1851), in that case, too, over the Mayor's veto and in face of an injunction; with the result, however, of sending one alderman to jail in addition to the fine which he paid in common with his fellows. From that time Sharp had toiled unremittingly to secure at Albany such legislation as would enable him once more to begin hopeful conflict in New York City. Success waited upon him in 1884, after he had already become an old man, bringing him privileges for which a million dollars had been more than once offered. Charges were preferred against members of the Board of Aldermen for 1884, accusing them of having granted a charter to the Broadway Surface Railroad Company in consideration of \$300,000 divided equally among them. It appeared that thirteen members had combined for the purpose of selling their votes on important enterprises. Of these four were tried, convicted and sentenced to years of imprisonment with heavy fines. The charter of the road was annulled by the legislature, and Sharp prosecuted and tried for bribery. He was convicted but granted a new trial, before the conclusion of which, in the spring of 1888, his health broke down completely, and he died.

The President and the Senate first came to blows early in 1886 over the President's act in suspending from office, the preceding July, G. M. Duskin, District Attorney for the Southern District of Alabama. When Congress reassembled, the Senate, proceeding upon the theory that the power of removal as



GENERAL JOHN NEWTON

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

well as that of appointment was committed to it jointly with the President, called on him to furnish the reasons for his action and the papers relating to the case. This demand Mr. Cleveland refused. In a vigorous message he held that for his acts of removal and suspension he was responsible to the people alone, and that the papers asked for touching *Duskin* were of a private nature. Reluctantly the Senate acquiesced in this position. On March 3, 1887, a bill passed Congress repealing the old Tenure of Office Act, enacted in 1867, during the bitter feud between Congress and President Johnson, for the purpose of rendering Johnson unable to remove executive officers when they had been confirmed by the Senate. This repeal rendered explicit and unqualified the President's independent power to remove from office, making him as free in this as if the Tenure of Office Act had never been passed.

It seemed to be the Senate Republicans' purpose in this encounter to discredit Mr. Cleveland by showing him insincere in his avowals of sympathy with reform. His election was largely due to the stand he had taken in regard to the evil of Congressional patronage. He had given his word to abate this so far as lay in his power, and the conditions at his accession to office favored the accomplishment of that purpose. No strictly party vote had elevated him to the Presidency. Moreover, there were 15,000 offices, in which the Pendleton Act required vacancies to be filled by non-partisan tests, and that law authorized the President to extend this mode of appointment if he wished. The fact was that Mr. Cleveland had assumed a task greater than he anticipated. Democrats incessantly vociferated against continuing Republican monopoly of the offices, urging him, as a Democrat, to relinquish a policy which must disintegrate the party and lose him all its support. Not one recognized Democratic leader stood up for the policy. Congress betrayed no cordial sympathy with it. In June, 1886, an attempt was made practically to annul the

CLEVELAND DISAPPOINTS CIVIL SERVICE REFORMERS

Civil Service Law by refusing to make an appropriation for the Commissioners. Disappointing and disgusting a host of his friends, Mr. Cleveland gradually yielded. By June, 1887, nearly all the 2,359 Presidential postmasters had been replaced, as had 32 of the 33 foreign ministers, 16 of the 21 secretaries of legation, 138 of the 219 consuls, 84 of the 85 collectors of internal revenue, 8 of the 11 inspectors of steam vessels, 65 of the 70 district attorneys, 64 of the 70 marshals, 22 of the 30 territorial judges, 16 of the 18 pension agents and some 40,000 of the 52,609 fourth-class postmasters. Within three years from his inauguration the President had replaced not less than 75,000, perhaps 100,000, Republican office-holders by Democrats, considerably impairing the service. But, though roundly denounced as a hypocrite, he never recanted his profession of devotion to reform, and he faithfully executed the mandatory provisions of the law.

What hurt the President most with reformers was his aid to Senator Gorman, of Maryland, in 1887, seeming to be an effort to acquit himself of the charge, often preferred, that "he was no Democrat." A Democratic authority stated that in Baltimore election after election had been carried by bare-faced fraud; that to stop a ballot in an important ward murder was recognized as a political service; that ballot-boxes were continually looted, and that in one ward nineteen men of criminal record drew pay from the city for their evil activities. Yet Mr. Cleveland's aid and comfort to representative Democratic leaders came too slowly and grudgingly to win their support in return. They thought him meanly obsequious toward Independents, and declared that he was betraying his party.

Western Democrats in particular were never enthusiastic for Mr. Cleveland, owing partly to his views upon the civil service and partly to his hailing from New York. With them "Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana," had been the magic and drawing part of the ticket. What occurred on

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

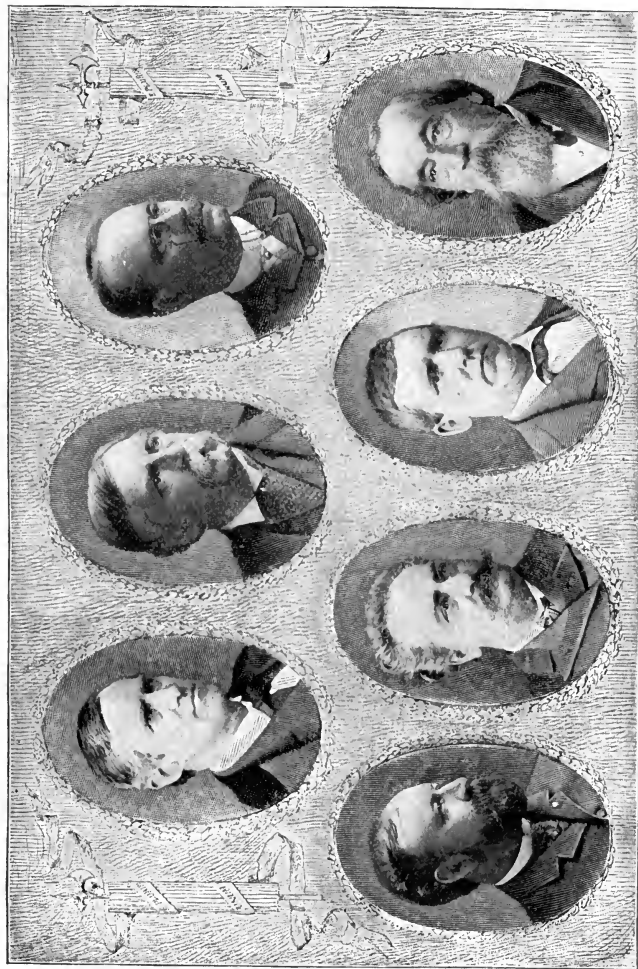
Inauguration Day indicated this. As the procession moved along Pennsylvania Avenue toward the Capitol cheers for the President-elect were at points rather faint, but the appearance of Mr. Hendricks's carriage was the signal for a prolonged roar that testified to the love and confidence the people felt for him. Many thought that this obvious contrast piqued the President and ascribed to it a certain lack of cordiality on his part toward the Vice-President, kept up till the latter's death. A month after the inauguration Mr. Hendricks had an interview with the President. On returning to his room at Willard's Hotel he seemed disappointed and said: "I hoped that Mr. Cleveland would put the Democratic party in power in fact as well as in name, but he does not intend to do it." A Southern Congressman told his Democratic friends: "Gentlemen, we've got a big elephant on our hands. I fear there will be some disappointment about the offices." Too few Republicans were turned out to suit Democratic workers, yet enough continually to keep up office-seekers' hopes. Those disappointed after long suspense were doubly unforgiving. The President would have done well to remember Machiavelli's precept: "Matters of severity should be finished at one blow, that so they may give the less distaste and be the sooner forgotten."

Republican papers made all possible political capital out of the pan-electric "scandal," affecting Attorney-General Garland. One Rogers had received a patent on a telephone which he hoped would rival Bell's. He assigned his rights to Democratic members of Congress, who transferred them to a certain "Pan-Electric Company," receiving stock in return. When the Democratic party came into power the Pan-Electric managers moved the Government to institute suit inquiring into the validity of the Bell patent. Though owning Pan-Electric stock which would rise in value a round million if the Bell patent were annulled, the Attorney-General did not forbid Solicitor-General Goode to attack that patent. This

T. F. Bayard, State

W. C. Endicott, War

W. C. Whitney, Navy



W. F. Vilas, Postm'r-Gen'l

Daniel Manning, Treasury

A. H. Garland, Att'y-General

L. Q. C. Lamar, Interior

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S FIRST CABINET

PENSION ABUSES

Goode did, though the Interior Department soon took the case off his hands. It was argued that Garland should not have allowed his subordinate to act in the matter, or, at any rate, should have divested himself of all interest in it by disposing of his stock. That he could at worst only *argue* the case and could not *decide* it, and that the court would specially scrutinize his plea as that of an interested party, was by most people forgotten or ignored. A congressional committee exonerated Garland, Goode and Mr. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior, from all censurable action in the premises.

When Mr. Cleveland took office the pensioning of Union soldiers was too indiscriminate, neither party venturing to advocate an economy of expenditure or a scrutiny of claims by which veterans might suffer. The Treasury surplus presented an irresistible temptation to foolish and pauperizing liberality. Greedy pension attorneys loved the "swag" which the system offered. Ultra protectionists also connived at it out of a wish to keep the high tariff intact. At that time pension attorneys were given access to soldiers' records in the War Department. Knowing that the record in any case would be appealed to in verifying the claim, they would obtain an old soldier's leave and set up on his behalf a claim for every trouble shown in his record. One attorney issued a circular announcing "Desertion marks quietly removed," the adverb being cancelled in ink. Innumerable fraudulent claims came to the bureau, too many of them successful. A New England merchant worth \$50,000, who never smelled powder or even served so much as three months, tried for a pension on the ground that his bad health was due to catarrh contracted in the army. An application was actually received at the bureau for injury by the chin of a comrade "while drilling on skates near Brattleboro, Vt." A wagoner who had lost his leg tumbling off a wagon when drunk obtained a pension. In several cases men who escaped service by shooting away their fingers got pensions for this disability.

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To relieve those whom for any reason the bureau had denied, thousands of private bills were passed. The House of Representatives usually devoted one meeting each week to the passage of these personal bills, only a handful, far less than a quorum, being present. Bill after bill became law merely upon the recommendation of the Committee, without recording a vote and without discussion. The Senate was also slack. One day in April, 1886, it passed 500 pension bills in two hours. Instead of doubling watchfulness upon special legislation, our bicameral system seemed to halve it; each House shifting upon the other the onus of rejecting unworthy but influential claims; both, as a result, leaving that useful but thankless task to the Executive. Little wonder that many unworthy claimants sought presidential endorsement.

But they did not any longer receive this. While favoring, for the truly worthy, pensions even more bountiful than were then allowed by law, the President insisted, both as a matter of due economy and in justice to loyal and true pensioners, on careful discrimination in making up the pension list. Till Cleveland's time but one pension bill had been rejected by the Executive, but in 1886 he vetoed 101 out of the 747 which passed Congress. The veto-messages were bold and often caustic, giving the vetoed bills undue prominence in comparison with those which were approved. It was thus easy to represent the vetoes as betraying hostility to old wearers of the blue, and Republican organs and orators were not slow to arraign the President thus. But although many attempts were made to pass pension bills over the veto, only one was successful. Hostility toward the President was immensely intensified when he negatived the Dependent Pension Bill, passed in 1887, which pensioned all dependent veterans who had served three months in the Union army, and also all dependent parents of such. The veto was, however, agreeable to not a few even among the Republicans, who had begun to

THE REBEL FLAG ORDER

look with dread upon the rising tide of paternalism in our Government, a tendency which found expression in the Blair Educational Bill, meant to give governmental support to certain State schools all over the South, and in the Texas Seed Bill, to aid needy farmers, passed by the House and Senate, but vetoed by the President.

More scathing yet was the condemnation visited upon Mr. Cleveland in consequence of his unfortunate "Rebel Flag" order. Hastily and without authority, he had given permission that the various Confederate flags in possession of the Government might be returned to the Southern States from which they were borne forth. The permission did not take effect, as these flags were public property and could be restored only by act of Congress, but the mischief was done. The rank and file of the Grand Army of the Republic felt outraged, and post after post passed resolutions fiercely denouncing the order, some of them hinting at lack of patriotism in its author. General Sherman wrote: "Of course I know Drum, the Adjutant-General. He has no sympathy with the army which fought. He was a non-combatant. He never captured a flag and values it only at its commercial value. He did not think of the blood and torture of battle; nor can Endicott, the Secretary of War, or Mr. Cleveland." General Butler styled the order, "An attempt to mutilate the archives."

Just previous to the National Encampment at St. Louis, in 1887, a number of posts in western Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Ohio held a camp-fire at Wheeling. A banner had been suspended across the street on the line of their march, bearing the President's portrait with the inscription, "God Bless our President, Commander-in-Chief of Our Army and Navy." Most of the posts refused to pass under, marching through the gutters instead, with colors folded and reversed. The President had accepted an invitation to the St. Louis encampment, but owing to this extreme rancor toward him, felt constrained to decline attendance. "I should," he said, "bear

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

with me there the people's highest office, the dignity of which I must protect, and I believe that neither the Grand Army of the Republic as an organization, nor anything like a majority of its members, would ever encourage any scandalous attack upon it. If, however, among the membership of this body there are some, as certainly seems to be the case, determined to denounce me and my official acts at the National Encampment, I believe that they should be permitted to do so unrestrained by my presence as a guest of their organization, or as a guest of the hospitable city in which their meeting is held."

Wonder was often expressed at the ease with which the Republican Party, at first containing hosts of free-traders and not committed to any doctrine regarding the tariff, became transformed into a pronounced and devoted high-tariff party, defending with all zeal, in time of profound peace, rates of protection imposed during the stress of war and meant by all to give way so soon as that temporary necessity should end. But the cause of this interesting metamorphosis was not far to seek. The growing demand for extreme protection was no mere United States affair. All the nations of the earth shared it. Even New South Wales, ever the free-trader's pride and shining example, in 1891 succumbed to this drift. The strengthening sentiment for protection marked the precise period, after 1873, during which general prices were falling. Owing to the decadence of prices, production grew extra hazardous and needed shelter. Less and less could be obtained for products, while all fixed charges, like taxes and mortgage-interest, remained the same. As the evil affected the entire consuming class, sales were fewer, even at the lessened rates. Whenever, therefore, prices in any line of manufacture threatened or began to fall, when stock depreciated upon manufacturers' hands, they inevitably struggled to avert these results and welcomed any resource which could aid. A number of gigantic industries met this crisis by forming them-

RISE OF HIGH PROTECTIONISM

selves into "Trusts," but the majority could not at once do this. Unable to obtain relief in any other way, they everywhere agitated for high tariffs, and in nearly every country with success. Had prices after the war been stationary or only slowly advancing, the rise in United States tariff rates, culminating in the McKinley law, would in all probability never have been so much as thought of.

By no means all those crying for highest protection, whether here or in Europe, were addicted to protection as a general policy. Many such were, in theory, free-traders. Had general prices been stable or rising, they would decidedly have preferred low tariffs or free trade. Willingness to subject your country's industries to normal foreign competition was one thing; quite another was it to do so when your competitors were helped to beat you by a home bonus on exportation, such as favored all exporters from silver and paper lands during the years under review. In France these "opportunists" protectionists were a powerful and growing party. Their logic was not at once understood in this country; but men mastered it more and more, and it carried over to the protectionist ranks armies of recruits in every Congressional and Presidential election.

The tariff problem was little discussed in the campaign of 1884. The platform on which Cleveland was elected did not speak strongly regarding it, and the Republicans had then by no means agreed upon the extreme form of protection embodied in the McKinley Act of 1890. When elected, Cleveland had no definite purpose concerning this subject, but the condition of the Treasury, present and prospective, soon drew his thoughts thereto. This History has already remarked that the Government's inability to pay its four-and-a-half per cent. bonds before 1891, or its fours before 1907, was unfortunate, and that the threes of 1882 were happily made payable at the Government's option. A call for the last of these was issued on May 20, 1887, interest to cease on the next July 1st.

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

After this time no bonds were subject to par payment at the Government's discretion, and surplus piled up ominously. December 1, 1887, after every possible Government obligation had been provided for, about \$50,000,000 remained—a sum increased by the end of that fiscal year, June 30, 1888, notwithstanding considerable purchases of long-term bonds at high rates, to \$103,000,000. There was no method at once legal and economical for paying this out. The Secretary could of course buy long bonds in the open market, and in 1888 he to some extent did so; but, obviously, if entered upon in a large way, this course must carry up the price of those bonds considerably. The President could not but foresee that the question, how to keep the money of the country from becoming locked up in the Treasury and Sub-Treasuries of the United States, was destined to be grave.

In his message to Congress in December, 1885, he said: "The fact that our revenues are in excess of the actual needs of an economical administration of the Government, justifies a reduction in the amount exacted from the people for its support. . . The proposition with which we have to deal is the reduction of the revenue by the Government, and indirectly paid by the people, for customs duties. The question of free trade is not involved. . . Justice and fairness dictate that in any modification of our present laws relating to revenue, the industries and interests which have been encouraged by such laws, and in which our citizens have large investments, should not be ruthlessly injured or destroyed. We should also deal with the subject in such a manner as to protect the interests of American labor. . . Within these limitations a certain reduction should be made in our customs revenue. . . I think the reduction should be made in the revenue derived from a tax upon the imported necessities of life."

The Forty-ninth Congress did nothing to carry out these suggestions, but the Morrison and the Randall bill, reported and discussed in the House, revealed among the Democrats a

PLEA FOR LOWER DUTIES

rapidly strengthening current of sentiment for lower duties. The President's convictions meantime became more pronounced. In his bold and candid message of 1887, he said, referring to the Treasury situation: "It is a condition which confronts us—not a theory. . . The question of free trade is absolutely irrelevant, and the persistent claim made in some quarters that all efforts to relieve the people from unjust and unnecessary taxation are schemes of so-called free-traders, is mischievous and far removed from any consideration of the public good. The simple and plain duty which we owe to the people is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the Government, and restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the Treasury through the perversion of governmental powers."

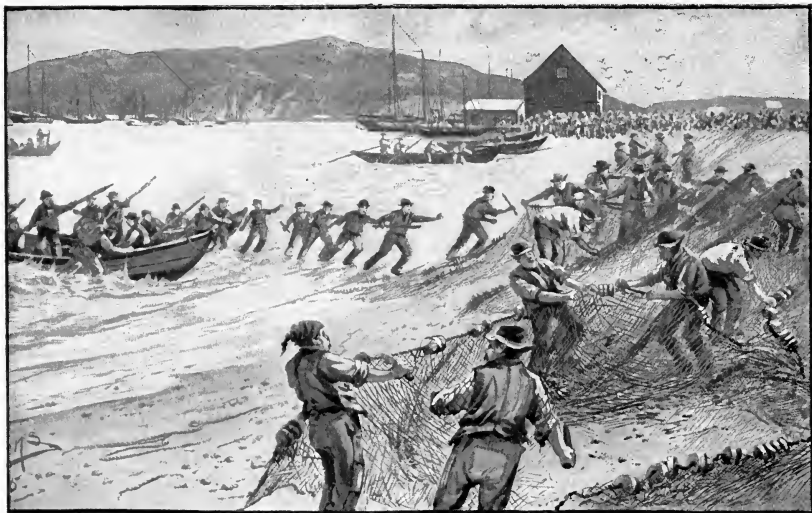
This message recommended the taxing of luxuries, the free-listing of raw wool, the radical reduction of duties on all raw materials, and the lowering or total abrogation of the tariff on necessities. On the convening of the Fiftieth Congress, surplus revenue being more and more a menace, the House felt forced to attempt a reduction of the Government's income. The Mills Bill resulted, hotly denounced and violently opposed by the Republicans as a free-trade measure. It was far from being this, though many of the arguments adduced in support of it would have been equally valid against all protection. The bill passed the House. In the Senate a Republican substitute was reported but never pushed.

The Senate sought to use the country's relations with China as a means of advantage over Mr. Cleveland. Both parties had expressed themselves as opposed to Chinese labor. A treaty with China had been



ROGER Q. MILLS

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



"THE FORTUNE BAY AFFAIR"

Drawn by M. J. Burns from photographs

signed on March 12, 1888, but subsequently amended by the Senate so as to exclude those Chinese laborers who had formerly been in the country and had been given certificates of identification by the Government. It seemed probable that China would not accept this treaty. On September 7th the Senate took up and immediately passed an act which came from the House, excluding from the United States all Chinese laborers without distinction. The President was thus in a dilemma. If he vetoed the measure he would encounter popular displeasure, if he signed it he would be placed in hostile relations toward a friendly power. In the House the Committee on Foreign Affairs delayed sending the bill to the President until it was definitely known that China had refused to ratify the treaty, and the Exclusion Bill was signed October 1st.

While many happy events were cementing the old goodwill between us and the French Republic our relations with England were in danger of being strained over the inveterate Fisheries dispute, which had come down from the very birthday of the nation. Many remembered how, on Sunday,

FISHERIES DISPUTES



THE SECOND SEIZURE OF THE SCHOONER DAVID J. ADAMS

Drawn by M. J. Burns from photographs by Parker and description

January 6, 1878, a number of American sailors engaged in taking herring in Long Harbor, Fortune Bay, Newfoundland, were attacked by the Newfoundlanders, who destroyed one of their seines and forced them to stop fishing. This incident was for years one of the international questions in dispute between England and America.

On July 1, 1885, the fishery clauses of the Treaty of Washington ceased to be operative. Canadian salt fish was now taxed by us, who, on the other hand, found, to our sorrow, the cruel provisions of the 1818 Treaty again legally binding and the Canadian authorities bent on their strict construction and enforcement. Our citizens could not now fish "within three marine miles of any of the coasts, bays and harbors of her Britannic Majesty's dominion in North America." In determining this limit England "measured from the headlands or extreme points of land at the entrance of bays or indents of the coast," forbidding Americans to fish in such bays even if more than three miles from shore. American vessels could not enter Canadian ports for bait. During the season of 1886 numbers of our vessels were detained at Can-

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



Loading the Fish



SCENES IN QUIDI VIDI, A TYPICAL NEW-
FOUNDLAND FISHING TOWN

adian ports, some of them under most aggravating circumstances, though but two were condemned. Crews were refused water on the ground that they had not conformed to certain port or customs regulations.

The American schooner *David F. Adams*, calling at the

port of Digby, Nova Scotia, May 5, 1886, to procure bait, was seized by Captain Scott of the steamer *Landsdowne*. The captain of the *Adams* declared he had called to see friends and was released, but ran aground going out of the harbor. Since the truth had meanwhile been learned, the schooner was re-seized, everything movable being sold at auction to cover expenses. The matter was long in dispute between England and the United States.

For weeks the dispute greatly excited our country. Threats of war with Canada were uttered and careful estimates



John B. Moore, American Sec'y James B. Angell Sir Charles Tupper J. H. G. Bergne, British Sec'y



Sir Lionel Sackville-West W. L. Putnam Thomas F. Bayard Joseph Chamberlain
THE FISHERIES COMMISSION OF 1888

DANGER OF WAR WITH CANADA

made of the force we could throw across our northern border in case of need. In May Congress placed in the President's hands power to suspend commercial intercourse between ourselves and Canada. Later a bill was introduced in the House cutting off all commercial relations with Canada by land or water. The Senate advanced a more moderate proposition—to limit the proposed arrest of traffic to water commerce and to Canadian vessels, also to leave its enforcement optional with the President. This became law on March 3, 1887. Under this legislation the President, on being assured that our fishing-masters or crews were used in Canadian ports any less favorably than masters or crews of trading vessels from the most favored nations, could, "in his discretion, by proclamation to that effect, deny vessels, their masters and crews, of the British dominions of North America any entrance into the waters, ports or places of or within the United States."

The President did not think best at once to use this fearful power, likely enough to lead to war. He preferred to make another attempt at a peaceful settlement through a new treaty. This had constantly been the wish of the British Government. Accordingly, late in 1887, a joint commission, consisting of Secretary Bayard, President Angell, of Michigan University, and Hon. William L. Putnam, of Maine, on the part of the United States, and of Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Sir Charles Tupper, of Canada, and Sir Lionel West, the British Minister, on the part of Great Britain, met at Washington. The Commission toiled nearly all winter, and passed to the President the result of its deliberations on February 16, 1888. The treaty which it drafted was necessarily a compromise. Canada thought the British Commissioners had yielded too much; many in the United States believed our Commissioners to have done the same. The document, approved by the President, went to the Senate, where, after long debate, it was refused ratification, August 21st.

The Commission had agreed upon a *modus vivendi*, to

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



The Newfoundland Fisheries.—Fish-Sheds at Quidi Vidi

hold good, unless revoked by the Governor-General and Council of Canada, till February, 1890, under which our fishermen might obtain in Canadian ports, on payment of a license, the privileges of merchantmen. Many such licenses were taken out during the season of 1888. Most of the fishing-masters, however, did not seek licenses, and were averse to the new treaty, preferring the terms of 1818 to granting their rivals any further rights in our markets. Fresh fish, including frozen and slack-salted, was already free in our ports, competing sharply with our own catch. No one longer cared to fish inside, or, except in emergencies, to provision at Canadian towns.

Convenient as would be the power to obtain bait near the fishing-grounds and to transship fish home in bond, neither was indispensable. Cod were still caught with trawls and baited hooks. The best bait was squid, whose abundance upon the banks was what caused the cod so to frequent them. The squid could be had freshest as well as cheapest from the

THE SEAL FISHERIES QUESTION

peasantry of the Newfoundland and Nova Scotia coasts ; but clams carried from home were found to do nearly as well. Accordingly, few collisions occurred in 1888, and as the season of that year closed there was a prospect that, even without a new convention, no necessity for American retaliation would arise.

Besides the Northeastern fisheries imbroglio, the seal fisheries of the Northwest gave trouble. The occasion was as follows : Shortly after our acquisition of Alaska, Congress passed stringent laws against killing fur-bearing animals in Alaska or the adjacent waters. In 1870 the Pribylov or Seal islands were leased to the Alaska Commercial Co., under regulations designed to preserve the seal life, rapidly becoming extinct everywhere else. Poaching was frequent and reckless. To punish and prevent it the Treasury Department in 1886 attempted to treat Behring Sea as a *mare clausum*, assuming that the United States had jurisdiction over it all, whereas British sealers claimed the right to hunt seals wherever they pleased if over three miles from land. In 1886 the British schooners *Carolina*, *Onward* and *Thornton*, though beyond the three-mile limit, were seized, taken to Sitka, condemned, their skins confiscated, and their masters fined. The British Government demanded the release of the prisoners and vessels and an indemnity of \$160,000. The release was ordered by President Cleveland in January, 1887, though the order was not immediately executed. In the summer of 1887 other British vessels, together with American seal-poachers, were taken from thirty to seventy miles out at sea. On August 19, 1887, Secretary Bayard sent circular letters to the United States ministers in England, France, Germany, Japan, Russia and Sweden, directing representations to be made to these governments that action was desirable for the better protection of the seals in Behring Sea. All the powers appealed to, except Sweden, began conference with the United States in the interest named, and for the present no

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

more British vessels were seized. In March, 1892, a treaty was ratified, submitting the questions that had arisen between the United States and Great Britain touching Behring Sea affairs to arbitration by seven commissioners, one each from Canada, Great Britain, Sweden, France and Italy, and two, Justice Harlan and Senator Morgan, from the United States.

On the five questions submitted to it, the Board decided as follows : (1) By the treaty of 1824 with the United States and by that of 1825 with Great Britain, Russia abandoned the right of exclusive jurisdiction beyond cannon-shot from shore, and never from that time till the cession of Alaska exercised it. (2) Great Britain never recognized Russian claims to exclusive jurisdiction outside territorial waters. (3) In the Anglo-Russian treaty of 1825 the term " Pacific Ocean " included Behring Sea. (4) At the cession all Russia's rights passed to the United States without impairment or increase. (5) The United States had no right to the protection of or to property in seals outside the ordinary three-mile limit. Points (3) and (4) were decided unanimously ; from all the rest Senator Morgan and from (5) Justice Harlan dissented. The Board made happy provisions for a joint police of Behring Sea by Great Britain and the United States, for an open and closed fishing season, and for the careful licensing of sealing vessels. Finally special recommendations were offered to the respective governments touching measures for more efficiently protecting the seals, each within its own undoubted jurisdiction.

CHAPTER V

GENERAL GRANT'S FUNERAL—ANARCHISM IN CHICAGO—STATE CONSTITUTIONS

CLEVELAND'S LETTER TO MRS. GRANT.—GRANT'S END.—THE PRIVATE FUNERAL.—THE BODY IN STATE AT ALBANY.—IN NEW YORK CITY.—CROWDS AT CITY HALL.—CATAFALQUE AND GUARD OF HONOR.—DISTINGUISHED MEN IN PROCESSION.—“LET US HAVE PEACE.”—AT AND NEAR THE TOMB.—THE PROCESSION ARRIVES.—THE HERO AT REST.—THE STATUE OF LIBERTY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD.—ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCHEME.—THE SITE PROVIDED.—ARRIVAL OF THE STATUE IN NEW YORK HARBOR.—THE PROCESSION.—RECEPTION AT CITY HALL.—THE STATUE IN SITU.—THE UNVEILING.—THE GREAT SOUTHWESTERN RAILWAY STRIKE.—ORIGIN.—VIOLENCE.—EFFECTS.—MARTIN IRONS.—THE OLD STORY.—ANARCHISTS IN CHICAGO.—MEETING IN HAYMARKET SQUARE.—FIELDEN'S SPEECH.—HIS ARREST.—BOMBS.—THEIR DEADLY WORK.—BRAVERY OF THE POLICE.—SEVEN MEN INDICTED.—*THE ALARM*.—THE TRIAL AND THE SENTENCES.—WERE THE CONDEMNED GUILTY?—GOVERNOR ALTGELD'S PARDON.—HIS ARGUMENT THEREFOR.—H. GEORGE RUNS FOR MAYOR OF NEW YORK.—REVISION OF STATE CONSTITUTIONS.—GEOGRAPHY OF THIS.—CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEW INSTRUMENTS.—LEGISLATURES BRIDLED AND THE EXECUTIVE GIVEN INCREASED POWER.—CORPORATIONS.—THE JURY SYSTEM.—TENDENCY TOWARD GOVERNMENT BY ADMINISTRATION.—THE AUSTRALIAN BALLOT.—SPIRIT OF SUFFRAGE LAWS.—DISFRANCHISEMENT OF BLACKS AT THE SOUTH.—ALABAMA DEMOCRACY WINS BY AID OF NEGROES.—THE MISSISSIPPI CONSTITUTION OF 1890.—ITS SUFFRAGE PROVISIONS.—UPHELD IN COURT.—INCREASE OF NEGROES QUALIFIED TO VOTE.—THE STRUGGLE IN SOUTH CAROLINA.—WADE HAMPTON.—REGISTRATION ACT OF 1882.—JUDGE GOFF'S INJUNCTION.—DISSOLVED.—THE CONVENTION.—THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

THE elect of the Solid South, and determined to give that section its rights, Mr. Cleveland yet took every occasion to recognize the results of the war, and to honor those who had made it successful. On learning of General Grant's death, he, on July 23, 1885, wrote Mrs. Grant :

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"MY DEAR MADAM: Obeying the dictates of my personal feelings, and in accord with what I am sure is the universal sentiment of his fellow-countrymen toward your late husband, I am solicitous that every tribute of respect and affection should be duly rendered, and with constant consideration of your personal wishes on the subject. Adjutant-General Richard C. Drum is charged with the delivery of this note, and will receive and convey to me any intimation of the wishes of yourself and your children in respect to the selection of the place of burial and conduct of the funeral ceremonies, and the part which may be borne by those charged with the administration of the government. With sincere condolence,

"Your friend and servant,

"GROVER CLEVELAND."

For months, intense suffering had been General Grant's lot, but he bore it in a hero's way. Never before had his character seemed so admirable as in this battle with disease, in which he was doomed to fall. No word of complaint escaped him. Work upon his "Memoirs," whose sale—such his poverty—he expected to be his family's sole source of support when he was gone, he persistently kept up till four days before the end. His protracted affliction made the Silent Man seem each one's next of kin. All that had been out of order in his administration of the Presidency was forgotten, men's thoughts gliding kindly back to the days of his immortal deeds in the field. When it was known that he was gone, the entire nation bent over his bier in tears, every household in the land, North and South, feeling itself bereaved. Southern cities half-masted their flags in Grant's honor, Southern legislatures passed resolutions speaking his praises and adjourned out of respect for him. Even Jefferson Davis unbent for a moment, uttering about the deceased commander a greater number of kindly words than the public had heard from him before in twenty-five years.

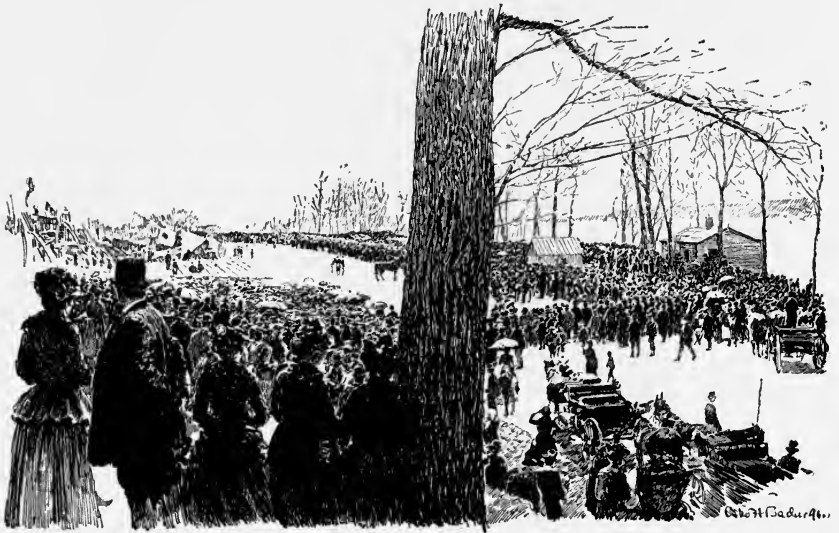
GEN. GRANT'S FUNERAL

The death had occurred at Mount McGregor, near Saratoga. The private funeral services were performed at that place on August 4th; and the same day a heavily draped railway train without bell or whistle bore the remains to Albany, where, from the evening of August 4th till 10.30 A.M., August 5th, the body lay in state at the Capitol. It was here viewed by over seventy-seven thousand persons. The public funeral took place in New York City on August 8th—the most imposing spectacle of the kind ever seen in America. Business was suspended. Crowds poured in from all the neighboring States, every train and steamer being packed to its utmost capacity. Positions convenient for surveying the procession sold for as much as fifty dollars apiece. City Hall, the immense pillars and winding stairs of its vestibule impressively draped in black, received the coffin, and through its iron portals for hours flowed a steady stream in double columns of twos. It was thought that from the opening to the closing of the gates, nearly or quite three hundred thousand people gazed upon the corpse.

As day broke, August 8th, was heard the first of the dirges that till sunset were at no moment intermitted. The sound came nearer and nearer, till five hundred veterans of Meade Post, Grand Army of the Republic, came in sight. Soon old Trinity's grave chimes pealed forth. At seven, notes of mourning from all distances and directions rose, floating up to the barred gates behind which lay the remains. At 8.50 General Hancock and staff slowly entered the plaza, first presenting front to City Hall in honor of the dead, and then facing Broadway, prepared to lead the solemn march. At 9.35 the funeral car approached, drawn by twenty-four jet-black horses, a colored man at each bridle. Twelve soldiers who had formed the Guard of Honor at Mount McGregor, reverently lifted the casket upon the car, which, as it moved, was flanked by veterans.

The procession, eight miles long, wended up Broadway

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



The Grant Funeral—The Arrival at the Tomb

between lines of old soldiers—flags veiled, drums muffled and arms reversed. The Grant family, except Mrs. Grant, who was unable to be present, followed in four carriages, succeeded by the General's old staff, his Cabinet officers, and detachments from Grand Army Posts. Members of the Aztec Club, survivors of the Mexican War, formed a group. President Cleveland rode with Secretary Bayard, and they were followed by the Vice-President and the Cabinet, the Supreme Court Justices, United States Senators, and a Committee of the House. Governor Hill and his suite and a Committee of the State Legislature were of the *cortège*, also gentlemen who had occupied diplomatic and consular offices under Grant while President. Besides all these were official guests filling a hundred and fifty carriages. Over the ashes of the man who had said: "Let us have peace," all bitter memories were forgotten. Speaker Carlisle and ex-Speaker Randall rode with Congressmen Hiscock and Reed, Senator Morrill with Senator Cockrell, Sherman with Ransom, Ingalls with Harris. Famous Confederates, distinguishable by their gray silk sashes, fraternized

THE NAVAL DISPLAY

with Federal chieftains. Generals Joe Johnston and Buckner officiated with Sherman, Sheridan and Logan among the pallbearers. Three other gallant Southerners, Wade Hampton, Fitzhugh Lee and Gordon, were also present at the funeral.

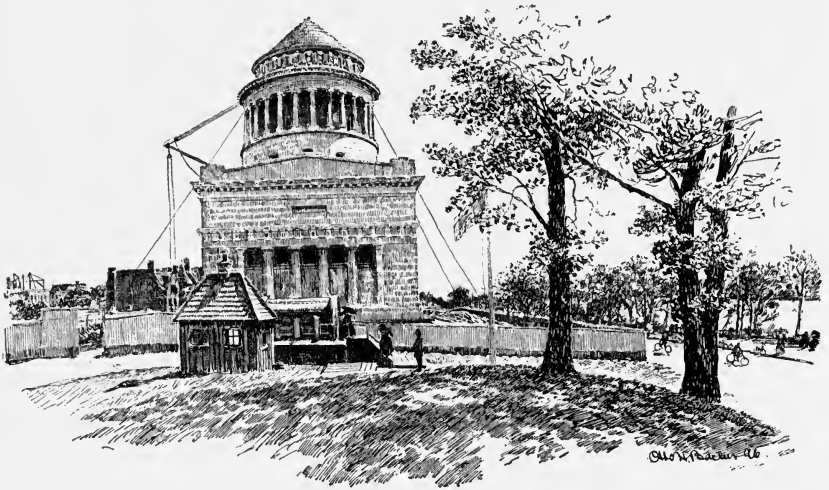
The tomb had been prepared in the upper city, near the North River and within sight of the Palisades. Directly opposite it that day lay the *Despatch*, bearing the Rear-Admiral's pennant; near her the *Powhatan*, guns gazing from her ports; also the *Omaha*, the *Swatara* and the *Alliance*. The vessels had their yards "a-cockbill"—obliquely set in token of mourning. Their brass and steel fittings, their holystoned decks and the accoutrements of their marines shone in the bright sun. On land, too, wherever you looked, were brilliant uniforms and trappings, plumed cavalymen and artillerists, burnished cannon, and bodies of infantry with rifles stacked in sheaves.

Shortly after two, trumpets heralded General Hancock



The Temporary Tomb, decorated in 1890

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



THE GRANT TOMB JUST PREVIOUS TO COMPLETION

Drawn from nature by Otto H. Bacher

and staff. Sweeping past the tomb, they drew rein beneath trees a hundred yards north. Soon a thunder-peal from the *Powhatan* shook the bluff, being returned, multiplied, from the Jersey shore. The salute was repeated at intervals. A little after four another strain of trumpets was heard; then the sound of muffled drums, announcing the approach of the catafalque. Infantry companies which had escorted it formed a hollow square between it and the tomb, and to the middle of this the body about to be laid away was transferred. The family mourners, alighting, stood nearest, then General Hancock, with President Cleveland, Vice-President Hendricks and members of the Cabinet. Close to the head of the bier were Generals Sherman and Sheridan, ex-Presidents Arthur and Hayes, Admiral Porter, General Fitzhugh Lee, General Gordon and General Buckner. Representatives from Meade Post circled the casket and went through the Grand Army ritual, after which came the burial service of the Methodist Episcopal Church. At the close of this "Tattoo" was sounded, ending the ceremonies, save that three volleys of musketry and as many of artillery were let off while the Grant family re-entered their carriages.

LIBERTY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD

The burial of ex-President Grant had been immediately preceded by a pleasant event of international interest. June 19, 1885, the New York Aldermanic Chamber, late witness of the presidential count, might have been seen tricked out with our red, white and blue, and with the French tricolor, to welcome the bringers of Bartholdi's statue of Liberty Enlightening the World, presented by Frenchmen to the people of America. M. Bartholdi had conceived this enterprise before the Second Empire fell. Obeying a hint of M. Laboulaye touching American love for Lafayette, he wished that French and American effort might erect a monument typical at once of American independence and of liberty itself. Soon after the re-establishment of the Republic, a French-American Union was formed in France to realize this idea. Bartholdi's plan being approved, a popular subscription from 100,000 Frenchmen brought in more than \$200,000, the cost of the statue, to which Americans added \$300,000 for base and pedestal. The United States set apart as the site of the statue Bedloe's Island, now Liberty Island, in New York Harbor, occupied since early in the century by the star fort which forms so suitable a part of the base beneath the statue. Upon the soil of the island was laid a solid block of concrete, the largest in the world, 90 feet square at the bottom, 65 at the top, and 52 feet high, and this was surrounded by a concrete arch covered with turf. Above rose the masonry of the pedestal proper, with huge, rough-hewn quoins.

The work of art was formally made over to our Minister in Paris on July 4th. When the *Isère*, bearing it, approached our shores, Senator Evarts, chairman of the Pedestal Committee, Mayor Grace, the French Consuls of New York and Chicago, with many invited guests, steamed down to meet her. The naval progress up the harbor was led by the *Despatch*, with Secretary Whitney on board. Other American men-of-war followed, behind them the French frigate *Flore*, and then the *Isère*, with an American vessel on each side. Over a hundred excursion boats, big and little, sail and steam, brought up

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

the rear. Clouds of smoke and incessant thunder from the forts reminded one of the Yorktown celebration. This noise gave place to a bedlam of shrill steam whistles when the fleet reached Bedloe's Island. Here the American Committee and their French guests landed, while French choral societies of three hundred voices sang the Marseillaise and Hail Columbia. All then crossed to the Battery, whence a grand procession moved to City Hall. Three regiments of the New York State Guard, sixteen hundred strong, mounted policemen, delegations from the Chamber of Commerce and other New York bodies, prominent residents, the aldermen, with Admiral La-combe, Captain De Saune, and other guests of honor, were formally of the procession, while thousands upon thousands of on-lookers moved as it moved. Roofs and windows along the line were densely filled. In the Governor's Room at City Hall a lunch was served to the guests. Over the old-fashioned desk once used by Washington was his full-length portrait, *vis-à-vis* with that of Lafayette. The table bore a model of the *Isère*, also one of the statue on its pedestal, and an emblematic figure of France wearing a tricolor cap and bearing a French flag. At the formal reception, in the chambers, a number of addresses were made.



FRÉDÉRIC AUGUSTE
BARTHOLDI

The goddess was not unveiled till October, 1886. When in place she stood 151 feet high, the tip of her torch extending 305 feet above low water. Her weight was 440,000 pounds. Beside her the Colossus of Rhodes would seem a good-sized boy. The statue's only rivals in size were certain figures in India cut from the living rock, but they were hardly works of art or of engineering. The frame consisted of four heavy corner-posts, joined by



THE BARTHOLDI STATUE OF LIBERTY, SEEN FROM COMMUNIPAW, N. J.

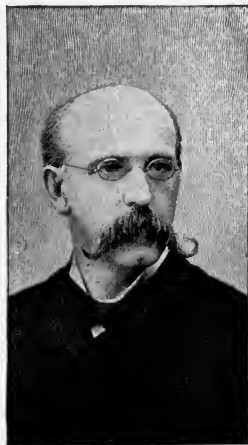
Painted from nature by Otto H. Bucher

THE UNVEILING

horizontal and diagonal braces. The contour was approximated by similarly braced struts, with a flying truss to support the arm. The cuticle was of copper plates 3-32 inches thick, strengthened by iron strips on the inside.

In contrast with the bright June day of her arrival, the day for the unveiling was chilly and drizzling, mud smearing the streets and mist lying over the harbor. From a shelterless platform at Madison Square President Cleveland and his Cabinet reviewed a procession twenty thousand strong as it marched to the Battery. The sidewalks were packed with humanity in two solid columns. Simultaneously with this pageant a grand naval parade of nearly three hundred vessels, led by French and American men-of-war, wended toward Bedloe's Island, where at last, though with face still hidden, stood the goddess, beautiful indeed. Afternoon saw the island crowded with distinguished guests. The head of the French Cabinet, the Minister of Public Instruction, members of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies and the Vice-President of the Paris Municipal Council were of the number. Comte de Lesseps spoke for France, when Senator Evarts, in a more extended address, delivered the statue to the President as representing the people. When M. Bartholdi removed the veil cannon roared on every side. President Cleveland in a few words accepted the gift. Addresses by M. Lefèvre and Hon. Chauncey M. Depew followed. Unfortunately the weather prevented the intended pyrotechnic display in the evening, though the harbor craft were all illuminated.

The year 1886 brought several labor movements which had grave political and social significance. The Texas Pacific Railroad was a bankrupt corporation in the custody of the United



TERENCE V. POWDERLY
From a photograph by Kuebler

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States Courts. Its receiver having refused to re-employ a dismissed foreman, the Executive of the Knights of Labor, in March, ordered the employés to quit work. The strike rapidly spread over the entire Gould system in the Southwest, Missouri Pacific employés making common cause with the original strikers. St. Louis was the storm-centre. Here violence and terrorism were rife, and United States troops had to be sent to restore and keep the peace. April 7th and 9th bloody riots occurred, fatal to several and destroying vast amounts of property. A crowd of three or four hundred persons gathered on a bridge near the Louisville and Nashville Railroad crossing, which was guarded by eight special deputies brought from distant points. Taunts were freely thrown at them, especially at one who was conspicuous on account of his tall figure, surmounted by a shock of red hair. He was counselled to go shoot himself. Instead, he advanced and dragged forth his tormentor, whereupon a tumult ensued, and all the small boys set up the cry of "Rats!" The other deputies, furious, all followed the example of the red-haired one when he levelled his gun at the crowd. Some one called out, "Don't shoot!" but the response was a volley that felled five men and a woman. Now panic-stricken in their turn, the deputies sought safety in the jail, one in his flight killing still another man. The wrathful populace dispersed to secure arms, and, once more assembling, were about to advance upon the jail. This violence was avoided and many lives saved by the leaders of the Knights of Labor, who hastened to the spot and implored the people to make no unlawful demonstrations. That evening, however, some \$50,000 worth of property was destroyed by incendiarism. Perishable goods spoiled, the St. Louis flour industry was stopped, and the price of provisions greatly increased. When coal rose from \$5.50 to \$40 a ton, factories of all descriptions had to shut down.

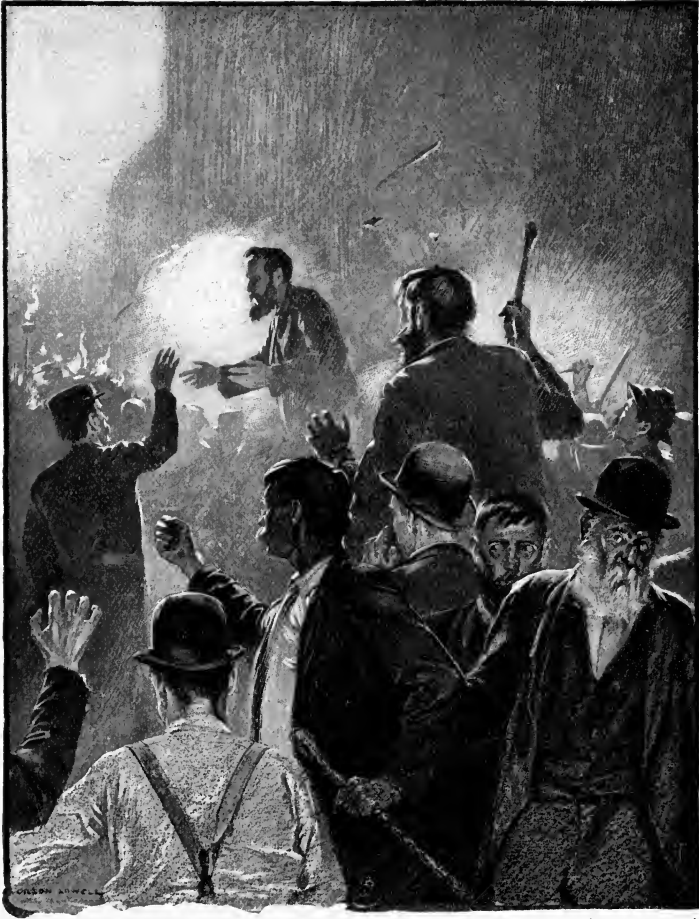
At last, some agreement being reached, General Master

MARTIN IRONS ASSUMES THE LEAD

Workman Powderly, of the Knights, ordered work resumed; but feeling had become so bitter that in St. Louis his mandate was disobeyed. Martin Irons, head of the St. Louis Knights, assumed the leadership and kept the conflict raging for some time. Congress raised a committee to investigate the strike, and before this, in the course of time, Irons came. He had been born in Scotland in 1832, arriving in America when fourteen. For years he was a rover, but at length settled at Sedalia, Mo., near Jesse James's old camping ground. His ultra policies, much more than his ability, had made him a labor leader. It was "a weak, irresolute, half-cunning, half-frightened face, that he turned toward the committee. He wore a dirty white shirt and a dirty white collar held in its place by a brass stud. An imitation diamond relieved the discolored area of his shirt-front, and a heavy brass watch-chain dangled from his unbuttoned vest. His first act after taking his seat was to draw a spittoon toward him and take a huge quid of tobacco, which he chewed heavily while he listened to Chairman Curtin's opening address to him." Irons and many more were examined. It was the old story: hot heads of a lax labor organization making rash demands; stiff capitalists readier to die than yield a point. The strike worse than failed of its purpose, at least of its immediate purpose. It was estimated that the strikers lost \$900,000 in wages, and non-striking employes deprived of work not less than \$500,000. The Missouri Pacific, it was thought, lost nearly \$3,000,000.

Serious as was this disturbance, it was temporarily forgotten in the more sombre event which occurred in Chicago on the very evening when the Southwestern strike terminated. Chicago labor organizations had recently started a movement to secure the adoption of an eight-hour labor day. Forty thousand workmen struck to enforce the demand, in efforts to withstand which some workmen had been shot by police and by Pinkerton detectives. On the evening of May 3d was

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Drawn by Orson Lowell

"WE ARE PEACEABLE"

The Tragedy in Haymarket Square, Chicago. The scene during Fielden's speech just before the bomb was thrown

announced a public indignation meeting for next day in Haymarket Square, which "good speakers" would address. On Tuesday some 1,400 workmen assembled. Most of the addresses were comparatively mild in tone, but about ten o'clock, after the Mayor had gone and part of the audience dispersed, Samuel Fielden gave utterance to vehement incendiary remarks: "John Brown, Jefferson, Washington, Patrick Henry and Hopkins said to the people: 'The law is

A DEADLY BOMB IS THROWN

your enemy. We are rebels against it.' The skirmish lines have met. The people have been shot. You have been robbed, and you will be starved into a worse condition." At this point a body of about 180 policemen marched up. Halting within a few feet of the speaker, Captain Ward said: "I command you, in the name of the People of the State of Illinois, to immediately and peaceably disperse." Fielden said, "We are peaceable." He was arrested.

As the police were carrying him off a gleaming missile was seen to curve in the air and fall among them. A deafening explosion ensued, and a third of their number fell writhing, seven being fatally wounded. "Fall in; close up!" The officers still on their feet obeyed instantly, and, not knowing the extent of the disaster or whether the cowardly attack would be repeated, dashed against the mob, of whom over fifty fell, the rest fleeing. Such magnificent courage in the presence of a sudden, mysterious and horrible danger, of a nature specially calculated to breed panic, won for the Chicago police force admiration at home and abroad. Army-disciplined *gendarmes* or regular troops could have behaved no better. The Chicago people did well to commemorate the deed with a monument.

A storm of wrath fell upon the Anarchists, who had thus for the first



HAYMARKET SQUARE, LOOKING EAST, 1895
Showing the Statue Erected in Memory of the Murdered Police.
(The bomb was thrown from the alley just behind the centre building on left.)

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time tried their methods in America. The actual thrower of the bomb was probably Rudolph Schnaubelt; but by shaving off his beard immediately after the event he avoided identification, though twice arrested, and finally escaped to unknown parts. Excitement was increased by the discovery in Cincinnati of Anarchists to the number of 600, organized and armed with rifles. Efforts were redoubled to bring the heads of the Chicago conspiracy to justice. The bomb used was probably the production of Louis Lingg, who all the afternoon before the riot had, with his assistants, been filling bombs similar to the one thrown. Besides Lingg seven other men were indicted, connected with two Anarchist sheets, *The Alarm*, Albert R. Parsons's paper, and the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, conducted by Augustus Spies. An extract from the *Alarm* read as follows: "DYNAMITE! Of all the good stuff, this is the stuff. Stuff several pounds of this sublime stuff into an inch pipe (gas or water pipe), plug up both ends, insert a cap with a fuse attached, place this in the immediate neighborhood of a lot of rich loafers who live by the sweat of other people's brows, and light the fuse. A most cheerful and



JOSEPH E. GARY

gratifying result will follow. The dear stuff can be carried around in the pocket without danger, while it is a formidable weapon against any force of militia, police or detectives that may want to stifle the cry for justice that goes forth from the plundered slaves. A pound of this good stuff beats a bushel of bal-lots all hollow, and don't you forget it." When this passage was read in court the accused seemed greatly amused at the wit of it.

SENTENCED AND EXECUTED

It was mainly upon such extracts from Anarchist papers that the prosecution was based. As accessories before the fact, equally guilty with the unknown principal, having by speech and print advised the commission of murder, Augustus Spies, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden, Albert R. Parsons, Adolph Fischer, George Engel and Louis Lingg were, on August 20, 1886, sentenced to death. Oscar Neebe was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment at hard labor. With the approval of Judge Gary and District Attorney Grinnell, Governor Oglesby commuted Schwab's and Fielden's sentence to life imprisonment. Lingg escaped the gallows by suicide, or, as his friends maintained, by murder at the hands of the police, a bomb, his chosen weapon, being exploded in his mouth. Four more bombs were found in his cell. Engel failed in an attempt to kill himself by poison. In November, 1887, Engel, Parsons, Fischer and Spies were hanged, remaining defiant to the last. Their bodies were buried two days later. A procession of Anarchists followed them to the grave, singing the Marseillaise and disporting red ribbons.

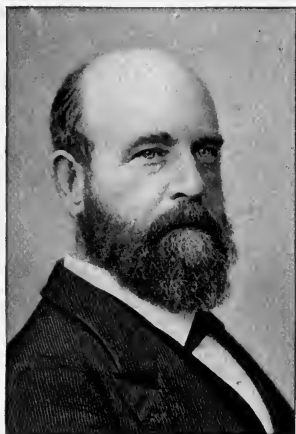
There were people of intelligence, standing, patriotism and high courage who, then and later, differed from the prevailing opinion touching the proper method for dealing with the convicted. Some believed that Anarchy would be discouraged by mildness more effectively than by severity; others thought that all the condemned, though guilty, were proper objects of executive clemency; still others were convinced that the seven were unjustly convicted. One of the ablest practitioners at the Chicago bar, thoroughly conversant with all the proceedings and evidence, years after the event, when all passion had subsided, using the utmost emphasis, declared it a



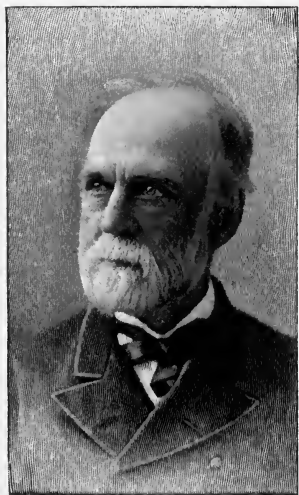
GOV. JOHN P. ALTGELD
of Illinois

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

perfectly clear and indubitable as well as a most sad and disgraceful case of judicial murder. Henry D. Lloyd, of Chicago, Mr. Howells and many others thought that there might have been guilt, but strongly favored clemency. Even Judge Gary,



HENRY GEORGE



ABRAM S. HEWITT

who presided at the trial, wrote: "In copying these fierce denunciations, these recitals of alleged tyranny and oppression, these seemingly pitying descriptions of the hardships and wrongs of the humble and the poor, written with apparent sincerity and real intellectual ability, I have occasionally lost sight of the atrocity of the advice given by the Anarchists, and felt a sort of sympathy with the rioters who would have praised my assassination as a virtuous act." Mr. Black, of the counsel for the defence, was deeply touched by what he considered the wrongs of his clients. Speaking at the graves of the executed, he confessed that he "loved these men" when he came to know "of their love for the people, of their patience, gentleness and courage."

Between eight and nine years after the Haymarket riot, Governor Altgeld, of Illinois, pardoned the three Anarchists still in the penitentiary, bringing upon himself unmeasured and lasting condemnation, increased by the fact that he chose for his act the day of the dedication of a monument to the dead Anarchists. His Excellency declared that the pardon was not mercy, for

ALTGELD DEFENDS HIS PARDON

which there was no place, but tardy justice. He said: "If the defendants had a fair trial, and nothing has developed since to show that they are not guilty of the crime charged in the indictments, then there ought to be no executive interference, for no punishment under our laws could then be too severe. Government must defend itself, life and property must be protected, and law and order maintained. Murder must be punished, and, if the defendants are guilty of murder, either committed with their own hands or by some one else acting on their advice, then, if they have had a fair trial, there should be in this case no executive interference." He insisted that the men had not been legally convicted. Their conviction proceeded solely upon the ground that they had in a general way, by speech and print, advised classes, not particular individuals, to commit murder, and that, in consequence of such advice *somebody not known* threw the bomb. There was no evidence whatever that any of the accused threw it, or that the one doing so, whoever he was, ever read or heard a word that proceeded from the mouth or pen of any of the accused. Governor Altgeld was thought by many to have established the facts that the jury was prejudiced, and that their admission to the panel, as also the principle upon which conviction was had, was a legal novelty. He charged that the jury was packed, and the judge not judicial in conducting the trial or in delivering sentence. He suggested that the murder was not upon the seditious advice of those obscure Anarchist sheets, but was an act of personal retaliation for some of the several instances of police or Pinkerton shooting and brutality which he alleged.

In 1886, labor strife stirred New York City as well as Chicago. Here, in June, Johann Most and three other Anarchists were convicted of inciting to riot and imprisoned. Several members of labor unions were also sentenced for boycotting. The same year Henry George ran as Labor candidate for the office of mayor, polling nearly seventy thousand

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

votes. In this campaign the foreign element for once deserted Tammany. To stem such adverse tide the braves nominated Abram S. Hewitt, a gentleman of courage, ability and integrity. It thus came to pass that one of the best mayors New York ever had was the official choice of Tammany Hall. Never previously had he been in even ostensible alliance with that body, and he was not so afterward. Indeed, he was one of the famous 1894 Committee of Seventy, of whose work the reader will learn later.

The exigencies of the race war at the South, various new forms of civil disorder everywhere, and the useless and archaic nature of many provisions in the old instruments, led to a pretty general revision of State Constitutions.* The New England States, indeed, continued to live under constitutions adopted before the civil war, modified, however, in most instances, by extensive amendments. Delaware, New Jersey and New York were equally conservative, as also the group of noble States next to the westward: Ohio, Indiana, Michigan and Wisconsin. Of the more westerly States only Kan-

*STATE CONSTITUTION-MAKING SINCE 1861.

| | Provisional Government entered upon | Reconstruction Act adopted | Present Constitution adopted |
|------------------------|--|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Alabama | 1865 | 1867 | 1875 |
| Arkansas | 1864 | 1868 | 1874 |
| Florida | 1865 | 1868 | 1885 |
| Georgia | 1865 | 1868 | 1877 |
| Louisiana | 1864 | 1868 | — |
| Mississippi | — | 1868 | 1890 |
| North Carolina | — | 1868 | 1876 |
| South Carolina | 1865 | 1868 | 1895 |
| Texas | 1866 | 1868 | 1876 |
| Virginia | 1864 | 1870 | — |

None of the eight Provisional Constitutions were recognized by Congress. Doings of Secession Conventions are not considered here. Usually, aside from the article of secession, they made merely verbal changes in existing instruments and did not submit the altered Constitutions to the people. Texas did this, however. Maryland adopted Constitutions in 1864 and 1867. Missouri ratified anti-secession amendments in 1861-63; renewed her Constitution in 1865 and 1875. West Virginia made her first separate State Constitution in 1861-63, her present one in 1872. Tennessee, in convention, ratified the anti-secession amendment in 1865; made her present Constitution in 1870. Kentucky adopted her present ground-law in 1891.

CONSTITUTIONAL GEOGRAPHY

sas, Iowa, Minnesota and Oregon remained content with ante-bellum instruments. Between 1864 and 1866 eight of the Southern States inaugurated provisional governments, which, however, were not recognized by Congress. These were succeeded by governments under the reconstruction acts. Alabama underwent this change in 1867; Virginia in 1870; the rest in 1868. After the death of the carpet-bag governments eight of the ten reconstruction constitutions were overthrown by 1896. During the Quarter-Century surveyed in this History eleven new States entered the Union, of which all but West Virginia and Nebraska retained their first bases of government. In some of these cases amendments made were so pervasive as to render the constitutions in effect new documents. Among constitutional conventions the most important were two in New Hampshire, 1876 and 1889, one in New York, 1894, and one each in Missouri, Tennessee, Mississippi and South Carolina.

Generally speaking, the new State constitutions reserved to the people large powers formerly granted to one or more among the three departments of government. They displayed a very strong tendency to hold the legislature in check

Northern and Western States have since 1861 made fundamental laws as follows, those marked with an asterisk being first constitutions of new States: Nevada in 1864*; Nebraska in 1867* and 1875; Illinois in 1870; Pennsylvania in 1873; Colorado in 1876*; California in 1879; Montana in 1889*; North Dakota in 1889*; South Dakota in 1889*; Washington in 1889*; Idaho in 1889*; Wyoming in 1889*; Utah in 1895*.

The following States were still (1896) under constitutions adopted before 1861: Connecticut's document hailed from 1818, Delaware's from 1831. This State was to hold a convention, Dec. 1, 1896. Indiana's Constitution dated from 1851; Iowa's from 1846; that of Kansas from 1859; that of Maine from 1820; that of Massachusetts from 1780; that of Michigan from 1850; that of Minnesota from 1857. This State proposed, on November 3, 1896, to vote on the question of holding a revising convention. New Hampshire's Constitution had come down from 1792; but conventions for amendments were held in 1876 and 1889. New Jersey's Constitution was made in 1844. New York State held an able Constitutional Convention in 1894, which passed many amendments. Ohio enacted her great document in 1851; Oregon did the same in 1857; Rhode Island in 1842; Vermont in 1793; Wisconsin in 1844.

It appears from the above that from the opening of the Civil War to 1896 the ten Secession States passed twenty-six constitutions; five other Southern States eight; and certain Northern and Western States fourteen more, making forty-eight new constitutions in all. Of this total eleven were first constitutions; one of these Southern (W. Va.) and ten Western.

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

by more minute directions and restrictions than were formerly usual. The new constitutions were much longer than earlier ones, dealing with many subjects previously left to statutes. Popular distrust of legislatures was further shown by provisions shortening the length of sessions, making sessions biennial, forbidding the pledging of the public credit, inhibiting all private or special legislation, items being usually specified, and fixing a maximum for the rate of taxation, for State debts and for State expenditures. Many new requirements were laid down to be observed in the passing of laws, such as printing the bills, reading them thrice, the yeas and nays on every bill, an absolute majority voting yea, inhibition of "log-rolling" or the joining of two or more subjects under one title, and enactments against legislative bribery, lobbying and "riders." It was the legislative rather than the executive branch of the government that was snubbed. The Revolutionary distrust of the executive had vanished. Indeed, there had appeared a quite positive tendency to concentrate responsibility in the Executive, causing the powers of governors on the whole considerably to increase. In consequence the governor now enjoyed a longer term, and could veto items or sections of bills, but he commonly shared his pardoning power with a board. By the ten latest constitutions all other executive officers as well as the governor were created directly by the people, neither appointed by the governor nor elected by the legislature.

The newer constitutions and constitutional amendments paid great attention to the regulation of corporations, especially of railroads. Commissions were created or provided for to deal with railroads, insurance, agriculture, lands, prisons and charities. Restrictions were laid upon trusts, monopolies and lotteries. Numerous modifications of the old jury system were introduced. Juries were made optional in civil cases, and not always obligatory in criminal. A number less than twelve was sometimes allowed, and a unanimous vote sometimes

THE AUSTRALIAN BALLOT

not required. Restrictions were enacted respecting the hours of labor, the regulation of factories, the alien ownership of land. The old latitude of giving and receiving by inheritance was trenched upon by means of inheritance taxes. The curbing of the legislature, the popular election of executive officials, civil service reform, and the consequent creation of a body of administrative officials with clearly defined duties, all seemed to betray a strong tendency toward the development of an administrative system.

A chief stronghold of political corruption was assaulted from 1888 to 1894 by an energetic and hopeful measure known as the "Australian" or secret ballot. It took many forms in different States; yet the essence of the device everywhere was the provision, in case of every voter, of opportunity to prepare and fold his ballot in a stall by himself, so that no one could dictate or determine whom he should vote for, or, unless freely told by him, know, subsequently, whom he had voted for. The State of Massachusetts and the City of Louisville, Ky., employed the new system in 1888. Next year ten States enacted similar laws. In 1890 four more followed, and in 1891 fourteen more. By 1894, when the impulse had largely spent itself, thirty-seven States, making all the members of the Union but seven, practised the Australian ballot system. Of these seven, six were Southern States, which framed their election laws mainly with the view of securing white domination.

Antagonists of the reform dubbed it "penal colony reform" and "Kangaroo voting," but failed to render it unpopular, although some States weakened its good effects by imperfect or ill-enforced regulations. An official ballot replaced the privately—often dishonestly—prepared party ballots formerly hawked all about each polling place by workers of the various political parties. This new ballot was a "blanket." It formed a conspectus of all the candidates before the people, whether by regular nomination or by the petition of a required

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

percentage of the voters. The arrangement of candidates' names varied in different States. One ticket was so constructed as to make it easy for the illiterate or the straight-out party man to mark or stamp his will at the head of a column of party candidates. Another made voting a heavy labor for the ignorant, but a delight to the discriminating independent.

It was painful to observe that the new method of balloting failed to produce by any means the excellent results expected of it. The connivance of election officials and of corrupt voters often annulled its virtue by devices growing in variety and ingenuity as ward politicians became better acquainted with the reform measure which had been forced upon them.

In the North and West the tendency of the new fundamental laws was to widen the suffrage, making it, for males over twenty-one years of age, almost universal, except in voting on financial bills. The right of women to vote, especially upon local matters, was more and more recognized. In Wyoming and Utah women equally with men exercised the suffrage upon all matters. There was also some drift toward accepting national citizenship as a basis for State citizenship. Much agitation occurred in favor of minority representation, and inclination appeared in certain quarters to adopt it more or less completely.

All over the South was manifested an irresistible movement toward the disfranchisement of the blacks. At first the cause was advanced illegally, by force, fraud and corruption; later, legal means, decent constitutional and statutory subterfuges, were tried. In North Carolina and Louisiana local colored majorities were rendered impotent by weakening local self-government. In Florida, Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, and in Virginia till 1882, proof of payment of taxes, notably of poll-taxes, was made an indispensable prerequisite to voting, either alone or as an alternative for an educational qualification. Such as had not paid, or, having paid, had failed to preserve or to bring to the polls

RACIAL STRIFE IN POLITICS

their receipts, were cut off. Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Florida, Virginia and South Carolina surrounded registration and voting with complex enactments. An educational qualification, often very elastic, sometimes the voter's alternative for a tax-receipt, was resorted to by Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee and South Carolina.

White solidarity yielding with time to party factions, there were heard in North and South Carolina, Alabama and Louisiana, loud allegations that this side or that had availed itself of negro votes to make up a deficit, or had turned the enginery of vote-suppression against its opponents' white supporters. A populist cartoon in a St. Louis comic paper pictured the Democratic "trump card" in Alabama as the "ace of spades," the device on the card being the face of an unsightly denizen of "the black belt." There was no doubt whatever that, at the election referred to, the Democracy was saved from defeat solely by the agency of colored votes.

Nowhere was the color line more sharply drawn than in Mississippi. The blacks were numerous there, and, unless controlled, would rule and ruin the State, themselves with it. It was easy for the whites to keep them in check, as they had done for years, by bribery and threats, supplemented, when necessary, by the use of flogging and the shot-gun. But this policy gave to the rising generation of white men the worst possible sort of a political education. What meaning could free institutions have for young voters who had never in all their lives seen an election carried save by these vicious means! The system was too barbarous to continue. A new constitution which should legally eliminate most of the negro vote was the alternative. Pursuant to an act of the preceding legislature a constitutional convention of 131 Democrats, 2 Republicans and 1 Greenbacker, deliberated in Mississippi from August 12 to November 1, 1890. Its main problem was to steer between the Scylla of the Fifteenth Amendment and the

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN

Charybdis of negro domination, in other words, legally to abridge the negro vote so as to insure Caucasian supremacy at the polls.

The new "Mississippi plan" finally evolved for its main features a registry tax and an educational qualification, all adjustable to practical exigencies. Each voter must, by the February preceding election, pay a poll-tax of at least \$2, never to exceed \$3, for school purposes, and must produce to the officers conducting the election satisfactory evidence of having paid said poll-tax and all other legal taxes. The voter must be registered "as provided by law." He "must be able to read any section of the Constitution of the State, to understand the same when read to him, or to give a reasonable interpretation thereof." In municipal elections electors were required to have "such additional qualifications as might be prescribed by law." The Constitution was not submitted to the people for ratification. On this ground, and as violating the Act of Congress re-admitting Mississippi, the instrument's validity was attacked, but decisively sustained by the State Supreme Court in 1892.

South Carolina followed Mississippi in efforts to secure a reasonable Constitution, holding for this purpose a convention in 1895. As a stimulus to education the Mississippi Constitution had worked well. A negro member of the South Carolina Convention, protesting against the disfranchisement of his race, after remarking that the scandals of the reconstruction era no more proved the incapacity of the negro for self-government than the scandals of the Tweed *régime* proved the incapacity of the whites, said: "Other States have marched on to prosperity while you are trying to keep down the negro. You may as well make up your minds that the negro will rise. He will not be crushed. The negro will rise sooner or later,

SOUTH CAROLINA FOLLOWS MISSISSIPPI

crush us as you may. He cannot be kept down forever. It is not in the nature of human affairs."

Events in Mississippi in a measure confirmed these words. The Mississippi negroes who got their names on the voting list rose in number from 9,036 in 1892 to 16,965 in 1895. This result of the "plan" displeased some South Carolina statesmen. Said one, in the 1895 Convention: "If the white men of South Carolina undertake to have fair elections they will be left. They will all be ruined. I do not want fair elections and I do not propose to vote for anything which would disfranchise any white man. As to the educational qualification, the black man is learning faster than the white man, and under it the first thing we know we will all be left. I am utterly opposed to giving the Republicans one manager of elections. We've got to throw 'em out. In my county there are five or six negroes to one white. If this law is passed we'll be left, in Berkeley."

The shade of negro domination which Mississippi conjured away by her new Constitution, haunted South Carolina the more the more her ordinary white population got control and the "Bourbons" were set aside. The progressive Democracy of the State, led by the enterprising Captain Benjamin R. Tillman, who became Governor and then Senator, early determined to pursue, touching the race imbroglio, the Mississippi path. A few Bourbons protested, but in vain. Consistently with his record Wade Hampton wrote in 1895: "I, for one, am willing to trust the negroes. They ask only the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States and that of our own State. 'Corruption wins not more than honesty;' I advocate perfect honesty, for defeat on that line is better than victory by fraud." The ex-Governor probably did not herein voice the opinion of a majority even of the aristocracy, who had retained control till the '90's, though all were disgusted with the dangerous paradox of having to support honest government by a makeshift of fraud, perjury and murder.

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

At any rate, he was hopelessly out of accord with the progressive elements of the Democracy. So early as 1882 a registration act was passed, which, amended in 1893 and 1894, compelled registration some four months before ordinary elections and required the registry certificate to be produced at the polls. Other laws made the road to the ballot-box a labyrinth, wherein not only most negroes but also some whites were lost. The multiple ballot-boxes alone were a Chinese puzzle. The registration act, however, was especially attacked as repugnant to the State and to the Federal Constitution. It imposed electoral qualifications not provided for or contemplated in the State Constitution and contrary to its express provisions. It was alleged to antagonize the Federal Constitution (1) in fixing by statute, instead of by State constitutions, the qualifications for electors of Federal representatives, (2) in virtually abridging the rights of United States citizens on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and (3) in establishing a white oligarchy in place of a republican form of government. Judge Goff, of the United States Circuit Court, at Columbus, S. C., on May 8, 1895, declared this registration law unconstitutional and enjoined the State from taking any further action under the same. This seemed effectually to block the way to the Constitutional Convention, which was confidently looked to to place the State on the same electoral platform with Mississippi. But all things come to those who wait.

In June the Court of Appeals overruled Judge Goff, and the injunction was dissolved. Very little interest was taken in the election of delegates, some polls not even being opened; from others five-sixths of the voters stayed away. The Conservatives held that the proposition had been voted down in the fall of 1894, but the Tillmanites, being in authority, proclaimed it carried. The Convention, which assembled on September 10th, was in the hands of Tillman's followers, many of them ready to go greater lengths than he. Tillman

WHY A NEW CONSTITUTION ?

said in the Convention, "I am willing to give the good deserving white man and black man who cannot read or write, and who has not \$300 worth of property, two years within which to be registered and become a qualified voter. I shall use every effort within my power to banish illiteracy from the land, but let us make this law fixed and beyond the possibility of fraud, so that after January 1, 1898, every honest and intelligent white man and negro can vote, if he can read or write, or has \$300 worth of property." It was over Tillman's protest that Republicans were excluded from the registration boards.

The *Greenville News* said the object of the Convention was to "provide a system of elections which would give a white majority of from 20,000 to 40,000 without disfranchising anybody and without requiring officers of election to be experts in perjury, fraud and cheating." The *Charleston News and Courier* said: "The Constitutional Convention has been called to accomplish in a constitutional way the overthrow of negro suffrage. Nobody tries to conceal it, nobody seeks to excuse it. It is not meant to disfranchise every negro in this State—there are some of them who are qualified by education and property to vote—but it is intended that every colored voter who can be disfranchised without violating the higher law of the United States Constitution shall be deprived of the right to vote. On the other hand, it is meant to disfranchise no white man, except for crime, if any way can be found to avoid it without violating the United States Constitution." The *Philadelphia Bulletin*, a Republican paper, noting the fact that there was a time when such utterances in Mississippi or South Carolina would have set the Republican party ablaze, proceeded: "The plain truth is that the Republicans generally have come to the conclusion that universal negro suffrage has been a failure and that the desire of the South to free itself from the evils of a great mass of ignorance, stupidity and superstition at the ballot box is largely pardonable."

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

The Convention adjourned on December 4, 1895. By the new Constitution the Mississippi plan was to be followed until January 1, 1898. Any male citizen could be registered who was able to read a section of the Constitution, or to satisfy the election officers that he understood it when read to him. Those thus registered were to remain voters for life. After the date named applicants for registry must be able both to read and to write any section of the Constitution, or to show tax-receipts for poll-tax and for taxes on at least \$300 worth of property. The property and the intelligence qualification each met with strenuous opposition, but it was thought that neither alone would serve the purpose. Any person denied registration might appeal to the courts.

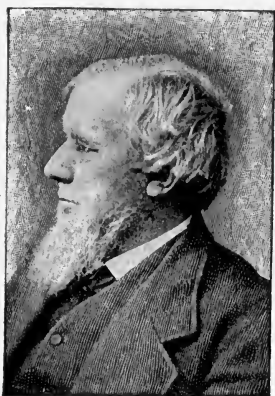
CHAPTER VI

THE NEO-REPUBLICAN ASCENDANCY

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES IN 1888.—BENJAMIN HARRISON.—NOMINATED ON THE EIGHTH BALLOT.—THE CAMPAIGN LITTLE PERSONAL.—CLUBS REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC.—CAUSES OF CLEVELAND'S DEFEAT.—FEDERAL PATRONAGE.—CIVIL SERVICE REFORMERS DESERT CLEVELAND.—DEMOCRATIC BLUNDERS.—THE MURCHISON LETTER.—SACKVILLE-WEST'S REPLY.—"SEE LAMONT AT ONCE."—THE BRITISH MINISTER GIVEN HIS PASSPORTS.—CLEVELAND'S ACTION CRITICISED.—OHIO BALLOT-BOX FORGERY.—THE TARIFF ISSUE.—BLAINE.—DEMOCRATIC ATTITUDE.—"BRITISH FREE TRADE."—HARRISON AND HILL IN NEW YORK STATE.—CORRUPT PRACTICES IN INDIANA.—FLOATERS IN "BLOCKS OF FIVE."—THE REPUBLICANS VICTORIOUS.—HARRISON'S INAUGURAL.—RESTRICTION OF EMIGRATION.—CONSULAR REPORTS ON THIS.—CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF WASHINGTON'S INAUGURATION.—MCKINLEY, LODGE AND REED THE REPUBLICAN LEADERS.—THREE GREAT REPUBLICAN MEASURES.—"CZAR" REED IN THE HOUSE.—A FORCE BILL PASSES THE HOUSE.—BUT DIES IN THE SENATE.—DEPENDENT PENSIONS ACT.—EVOLUTION OF THE PENSION SYSTEM.—THE BONDED DEBT.—WHAT TO DO WITH SURPLUS REVENUE.—THE MCKINLEY BILL.—THE NEW ORLEANS MAFIA.—CHIEF HENNESSY MURDERED.—MASS MEETING.—"WHO KILLA DE CHIEF?"—MASSACRE OF THE PRISONERS.—COMPLICATIONS WITH ITALY.—THE SETTLEMENT.—THE UNITED STATES AND CHILE.—THE BARRUNDIA CASE.—DEMOCRATIC "LANDSLIDE" OF 1890.—CAUSES.—INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT BILL.

APPROACHING the presidential campaign of 1888 the Democrats found their programme ready-made. Cleveland's administration, silencing his enemies within the party, made him the inevitable nominee, while his bold advocacy of reform in our fiscal policy determined the line on which the campaign must be won or lost. To humor the West and to show that it was a Democratic, not a Mugwump ticket, Allen G. Thurman of Ohio, was named for Vice-President. The Republicans' path was less clear. That they must lift the banner of high protection was certain; but who should be the bearer of it was in doubt till after the Convention sat.

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



ALLEN G. THURMAN

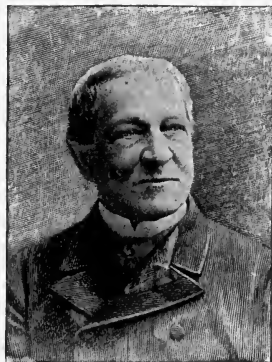
The balloting began with John Sherman far in the lead, polling 229 votes. Gresham had 111, Depew 99, Alger 84, Harrison only 80, and Blaine only 35. After the third ballot Depew withdrew his name, and on the fourth ballot New York and Wisconsin joined the Harrison forces. A stampede of the Convention for Blaine was expected, but it did not come, being hindered in part by the halting tenor of despatches received from the Plumed Knight, far away. After the fifth ballot two telegrams were received from Blaine requesting his friends to discontinue voting for him. Two ballots more having been taken, Allison, who had been receiving a considerable vote, withdrew. The eighth ballot nominated Harrison, and the name of Levi P. Morton, of New York, was at once placed beneath his on the ticket.

Mr. Harrison was the grandson of President William Henry Harrison, therefore great-grandson of Governor Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia, the ardent Revolutionary patriot, signer of the Declaration of Independence. An older scion of the family had served as major-general in Cromwell's army and been put to death in 1660 for signing the death-warrant of King Charles I. Thoroughly educated and already a successful lawyer, Mr. Harrison was, in 1860, made Reporter of Decisions to the Indiana Supreme Court. When the war came on, obeying the spirit that in his grandfather had won at Tippecanoe and the Thames, he volunteered and was appointed colonel. Gallant services under Sherman at Resaca and Peach Tree Creek made him a brevet brigadier. Owing to his character, his lineage, his fine war record, his power as a speaker, and his popularity in a pivotal State, he was a prominent figure in politics not only in Indiana, but, more

THE CAMPAIGN NOT PERSONAL

and more, nationally. Defeated for the Indiana governorship in 1876, by a small margin, he was afterward elected United States Senator, serving from 1881 to 1887. In 1880 Indiana presented him to the Republican National Convention as her favorite son, and from this time, particularly in the West, he was thought of as a presidential possibility. Eclipsed by Blaine in 1884, he came forward again in 1888, this time to win.

In the campaign which succeeded personalities had no place. After his arrival from Europe, August 10th, Mr. Blaine was, on the Republican side, far the most prominent campaigner. The West and the East both heard him on nearly every question entering into the canvass, and every speech of his was widely quoted and commented on. Harrison's ability was much underrated in the East, for which reason, it was thought, the managers kept him mainly near home. But his reputation was above reproach; while, fortunately for the party, no Republicans cared to revive the mean charges against Cleveland so assiduously circulated four years before. Instead of defamation both sides resorted to a cleanlier and more useful device, the political club, whose evolution was a feature of this campaign. By August, 1887, 6,500 Republican clubs were reported, claiming a membership of a million voters. Before the election Indiana had 1,100 Republican clubs, New York 1,400. The Democrats, less successful than their opponents, yet organized about three thousand clubs, which were combined in a National Association, to correspond to the Republican League of the United States. Numerous reform and tariff reform clubs, different from the clubs just mentioned, worked for Democratic success. This, for most of the campaign, seemed assured, and the reverse outcome surprised many in



LEVI P. MORTON

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

both parties. The causes of it, however, were not far to seek.

The federal patronage, as always, benumbed the activities of the Administration and whetted the Opposition. The office-holder army, of course, toiled and contributed for the Democracy's success; but, operating as counter-weights to office-holders were an equal or greater number of soured office-seekers, each with his little following, who had been "turned down" by the Administration. The Opposition, on the other hand, commanded a force of earnest and harmonious workers, some impelled by patriotism, more, perhaps, by hopes of "recognition" in case their cause won. Thus the craving of both sides for political "swag" worked against the Democratic party. Though the tone of the campaign gave little hope of improvement should Harrison be elected, a large number of civil service reformers indignantly deserted Cleveland owing to his practical renunciation of their faith. The public at large resented the loss which the service had suffered through changes in office-holders. Democratic blunders thrust the sectional issue needlessly to the fore. The Rebel flag incident, Mr. Cleveland's fishing trip on Memorial Day, the choice of Mr. Mills, a Southerner, to lead the tariff fight in Congress, and the prominence of Southerners among the Democratic campaign orators at the North, were themes of countless diatribes.

Not all the Republican speakers of the campaign did so much to make people think Mr. Cleveland "un-American" as was accomplished by means of the so-called "Murchison Letter." This clever Republican document, written by Mr. George Osgoodby, of Pomona, California, was dated at Pomona, September 4, 1888, and directed to the British Minister at Washington, D. C. The text of it follows:

"SIR: "The gravity of the political situation here, and the duties of those voters who are of English birth, but still consider England the motherland, constitutes the apology I hereby

THE MURCHISON LETTER

offer for intruding for information. Mr. Cleveland's message to Congress on the fishery question justly excites our alarm and compels us to seek further knowledge before finally casting our votes for him as we intended to do. Many English citizens have for years refrained from being naturalized, as they thought no good would accrue from the act, but Mr. Cleveland's Administration has been so favorable and friendly toward England, so kind in not enforcing the retaliatory act passed by Congress, so sound on the free-trade question and so hostile to the dynamite schools of Ireland, that, by the hundreds—yes, by the thousands—they have become naturalized for the express purpose of helping to elect him over again, the one above all of American politicians they considered their own and their country's best friend. I am one of these unfortunates with a right to vote for President in November. I am unable to understand for whom I shall cast my ballot, when but one month ago I was sure that Mr. Cleveland was the man. If Cleveland was pursuing a new policy toward Canada, temporarily only and for the sake of obtaining popularity and continuation of his office four years more, but intends to cease his policy when his re-election in November is secured, and again favor England's interest, then I should have no further doubt, but go forward and vote for him. I know of no one better able to direct me, sir, and I most respectfully ask your advice in the matter. I will further add that the two men, Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Harrison, are very evenly matched, and a few votes might elect either one. Mr. Harrison is a high-tariff man, a believer on the American side of all questions, and undoubtedly an enemy to British interests generally. This State is equally divided between the parties, and a mere handful of our naturalized countrymen can turn it either way. When it is remembered that a small State (Colorado) defeated Mr. Tilden in 1876, and elected Hayes, the Republican, the importance of California is at once apparent to all.

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

"As you are the fountain-head of knowledge on the question, and know whether Mr. Cleveland's policy is temporary only, and whether he will, as soon as he secures another term of four years in the Presidency, suspend it for one of friendship and free trade, I apply to you privately and confidentially for information which shall in turn be treated as entirely secret. Such information would put me at rest myself, and if favorable to Mr. Cleveland enable me on my own responsibility to assure many of my countrymen that they would do England a service by voting for Cleveland and against the Republican system of tariff. As I before observed, we know not what to do, but look for more light on a mysterious subject, which the sooner it comes will better serve true Englishmen in casting their votes.

"Yours, very respectfully,

"CHARLES F. MURCHISON."

The Minister replied :

"SIR : I am in receipt of your letter of the 4th inst. and beg to say that I fully appreciate the difficulty in which you find yourself in casting your vote. You are probably aware that any political party which openly favored the mother country at the present moment would lose popularity, and that the party in power is fully aware of the fact. The party, however, is, I believe, still desirous of maintaining friendly relations with Great Britain, and still desirous of settling all questions with Canada which have been, unfortunately, reopened since the retraction of the treaty by the Republican majority in the Senate and by the President's message to which you allude. All allowances must, therefore, be made for the political situation as regards the Presidential election thus created. It is, however, impossible to predict the course which President Cleveland may pursue in the matter of retaliation should he be elected ; but there is every reason to believe that, while upholding the position he has taken, he

“SEE LAMONT AT ONCE”

will manifest a spirit of conciliation in dealing with the question involved in his message. I enclose an article from the *New York Times* of August 22d, and remain yours faithfully,

“L. S. SACKVILLE-WEST.”

This correspondence was published on October 24th, and instantly took effect. Sir Sackville-West was famous. His photographs were in demand, and a dime museum manager offered him \$2,000 a week to hold two *levées* daily in his “palatial museum.” The President at first inclined to ignore the incident, but changed when a member of the Cabinet re-



LORD SACKVILLE-WEST

ceived from the Democratic National Committee the following: “Does the President know that the Irish vote is slipping out of our hands because of diplomatic shilly-shallying? See Lamont at once. Something ought to be done to-day.” Something was done. On October 30th the Minister was notified that he was a *persona non grata*. His recall was asked for but refused, whereupon his passports were delivered to him. The English Government resented this, and refused

to fill the vacancy during the remaining months of Cleveland’s administration. An influential newspaper friendly to the President, said: “If President Cleveland had resisted the clamor he could not have suffered any more complete defeat than that which he was called upon to endure, while he would have had the consciousness of having acted in a manly, upright and courageous manner, with full appreciation of the courtesy which one friendly government should extend to another. But this was one of the instances in President Cleveland’s career in which the cunning of the politician outweighed the judgment of the statesman, and he caused the recall of Minister Sack-

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

ville for reasons and in a manner that will always stand in history as an instance of contemptible personal weakness. The other side played a demagogic trick to capture the Irish vote ; the President of the United States tried to outwit them by a piece of trickery of even larger dimensions, and, as in this instance he deserved, failed of his purpose."

Another artifice attracted some notice in this campaign, particularly in Ohio. It was directed against the popular Democrat, Hon J. E. Campbell, of that State, whom the evident design was to brand as corrupt, as using his political office and influence for the purpose of personal gain.

In September, 1888, one Richard G. Wood delivered to Governor Joseph B. Foraker, of Ohio, the following paper :

" WASHINGTON, D. C., July 2, 1888.

" We, the undersigned, agree to pay the amounts set opposite, or any part thereof, whenever requested so to do by John R. McLean, upon ' Contract No. 1,000,' a copy of which is to be given to each subscriber upon payment of any part of the money hereby subscribed. It is understood that each subscription of five thousand dollars shall entitle the subscriber thereof to a one-twentieth interest in said contract."

First among " the undersigned " names stood that of Governor Campbell, who was down for \$15,000 in all. John Sherman, William McKinley, W. C. P. Breckenridge and other prominent men of both the great political parties were also among the apparent subscribers. " Contract No. 1,000 " was an arrangement to make and market the Hall and Wood ballot box, a patent concern to prevent fraudulent voting. On July 23, shortly after the date of the asserted agreement, Mr. Campbell introduced a bill in the national Congress which required the purchase of the boxes by the Government, and their use where it had the authority.

THE BALLOT-BOX FORGERY

In a little over a fortnight Foraker handed a copy of the alleged contract to the editor of the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette*, which came out on October 4th with a *facsimile* thereof, to which, however, only Campbell's name was attached. Gossip supplemented the astute silence of the press. Other alleged signers got knowledge of the paper and denounced it as a forgery. Campbell vindicated himself completely and at once. Just a week after publishing the contract, the *Commercial Gazette* gave out a statement by Mr. Murat Halstead, the editor, to the effect that he was satisfied that Campbell's signature was false, but he still omitted to mention any other names. Foraker as well as Halstead had been deceived touching the genuineness of the contract, but the Governor seemed in no haste to rectify the harm which his error had led him to inflict. Sherman always deemed it strange that Foraker, having in his possession a paper which implicated Butterworth, McKinley and Sherman himself, in what all men would regard a dishonorable transaction, did not inform those gentlemen and give them an opportunity to deny, affirm, or explain their alleged signatures. Inquiry from him would at once have elicited the facts. "No doubt," said Sherman, "Foraker believed the signatures genuine, but that should not have deterred him from making the inquiry."

The whole matter was at last thoroughly aired in Congress and the contract, with all the names, published in *facsimile*. A Committee of the House found that Wood and two confederates were responsible for the forgery, and that Foraker and Halstead unwittingly aided in uttering the same. The Congressmen concerned were wholly exonerated.

The election, after all, turned mainly upon the tariff issue. Smarting



J. B. FORAKER

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

under his defeat in 1884, Mr. Blaine had written: "I was not sustained in the canvass by many who had personally a far greater stake than I. They are likely to have leisure for reflection and for a cool calculation of the small sums they were asked in vain to contribute." This prophecy came true. In 1888 the Republicans screamed that protection was on trial for its life. Many Democrats held the same view of the contest, inveighing against protection as pure robbery. They accused the tariff of causing Trusts, against which several bills had recently been introduced in Congress. At the opening of the campaign Blaine declared such combinations largely private affairs "with which neither President Cleveland nor any private citizen had any particular right to interfere."

Democratic organs diligently used this utterance to prove that Republicans slavishly served the rich and were always glad to grind the faces of the poor. Moderate Democrats, taking cue from Mr. Cleveland's 1887 tariff message, urged simply a reduction in protective rates; but they usually did this with arguments which would have served equally well in a plea for out and out free trade. The Mills Bill was to a great extent constructed on the tariff-for-revenue theory, dutying at snug rates good revenue articles that needed no protection, and at low rates many which, it was alleged, could not be produced in the United States without protection. Wool, lumber and salt it placed upon the free list. Henry George, who wished every custom-house in the land levelled, took the stump for Cleveland. Republican orators and organs pictured "British free trade" as the sure consequence of a victory for Cleveland. "British goods would flood us; our manufactures, the Home Market gone, would be driven to a competition—in which they must fail—with the pauper-made products of Europe; farming would be our sole great industry; wages would vastly fall or cease altogether." Whether solid argument, or sophistry which a longer campaign of education would have dispelled, these considerations had powerful effect. Startled at

FLOATERS IN BLOCKS OF FIVE

prospects so terrible, people voted to uphold the "American System." The worst tug of war occurred in New York State. "I am a Democrat," said Governor Hill on every occasion; yet he and his friends disliked the Administration, and were widely believed to connive at the trading of Democratic votes for Harrison in return for Republican votes for Hill. "Harrison and Hill" flags waved over liquor-saloons in nearly every city and large town of the State. Many a Democratic meeting was addressed by one speaker who extolled the President but would not say a word for the Governor; then by another who eloquently lauded the Governor but ignored the President.

To all the above it is unfortunately necessary to add that the 1888 election was among the most corrupt in our history. The campaign was estimated to have cost the two parties \$6,000,000. Assessments on office-holders were largely relied upon to replenish the Democrats' campaign treasury, though goodly subsidies came in from other sources. But with "soap," recurring to President Arthur's figure, the Republicans were better supplied than their rivals. The manufacturers of the country regarded their interests and even their honor as assailed, and contributed generously as often as the Republican hat went round. Special store of "the needful" was laid out in Indiana, where no resource which could assist the Republican victory was left untried.

The National Republican Committee wrote the party managers in that State: "Divide the floaters into blocks of five and put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of these five, and make him responsible that none get away, and that all vote our ticket." William W. Dudley, Treasurer of the Committee, was alleged to have written this. After election a complaint was brought against him for bribery, but the grand jury found no indictment. The mandate to the State workers was obeyed. In one place, on "the night before election, more than a hundred of the 'floaters' had been collected in various buildings, with sentries to guard them against

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BENJAMIN HARRISON

surprise by the foe." Wagon-loads of them were taken into the surrounding country, ready to be rushed to the polls at sunrise before they could fall into the hands of the enemy. In this particular market the price of votes had risen since 1880 from \$2 to about \$15. Experts referred the advance not to diminution in the supply of purchasable voters, but rather to increase in the demand for them occasioned by the impor-

tance of Indiana's vote. At the election more than eleven million ballots were cast, yet so closely balanced were the parties that a change of ten thousand in Indiana and New York, both of which went for Harrison, would have re-elected Cleveland. As it was, his popular vote, of 5,540,000, exceeded Harrison's of 5,400,000, by 140,000. The Republicans held the Senate and won a face majority of ten in the House, somewhat increased by unseating and seating subsequently. In New York, because, apparently, of the trading referred to, Hill was re-elected Governor. Connecticut gave a Democratic plurality of 336, and New Jersey one of 7,149. The Republicans were also victorious in the Congressional elections, the House at the opening of the Fifty-first Congress, first session, having 170 Republican members to 160 Democrats. The Republicans were thus in control of all branches of the general government, in condition to carry out the principles laid down in the Chicago platform.

UNWELCOME IMMIGRANTS

The new President's inaugural address reaffirmed the Republican principle of Protection and supported Civil Service Reform. It recommended the increase of the Navy, and advocated steamship subsidies. A reform of the electoral and of the immigration laws was likewise urged. This recommendation had in view the exclusion of undesirable foreigners from our shores, already referred to in this History. The first movement in this direction dated back to 1882, when, on August 3d, an act was passed prohibiting the landing of any convict, lunatic, idiot or person unable to take care of himself. On March 3, 1887, a supplementary act was passed, but its provisions were found to be entirely inadequate to prevent the coming of improper persons to our shores. In December of the same year an unsuccessful bill was introduced into the Senate authorizing the Secretary of State to establish rules and issue instructions to consuls of the United States tending to prevent undesirable immigration, by granting certificates only to suitable persons. In 1888 Congress made an investigation into the matter, but nothing definite was accomplished.

The extent to which the evil had grown was well set forth by an address of one hundred American consuls to the general government at Washington in 1888. In this address the Consul at Palermo said: "Emigration is here considered a mere matter of business so far as steamship companies are concerned, and it is stimulated by them in the same sense that trade in merchandise is when they desire a cargo, or to complete one, for their vessel, as the company desire that all space in their vessels shall be occupied; and, in order to accomplish this, they employ emigrant brokers or agents, to whom they pay from three to five dollars for each emigrant. The brokers are a low, lying, dishonorable set, who will swear to anything to induce the poor, ignorant people to emigrate, and thus earn their fees." The Consul at Venice said: "Emigrants are recruited from those people whom, as a rule, their native country does not wish to maintain. They are no more fitted

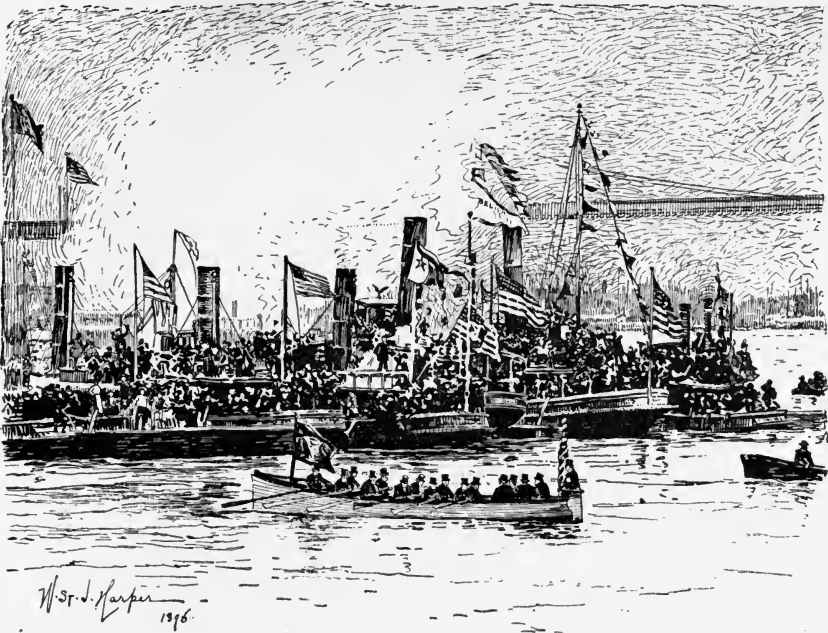
THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

to perform the duties of citizenship than slaves newly released from bondage." The immigration question had entered to a slight extent into the campaign, having been agitated principally by the American Party, which held a convention at Washington, D. C., August 14th and 15th, nominating for the Presidency James L. Curtis, of New York, and for the Vice-Presidency James R. Greer, of Tennessee.

Shortly after his inauguration, President Harrison was the central figure in one of the most unique and imposing demonstrations ever witnessed in America. This was the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the inauguration of General Washington as President, in the city of New York, on April 30, 1789. The celebration lasted for three days, beginning on the morning of the 29th of April, when Mr. Harrison was entertained by the Governor of New Jersey, as Washington had been just one hundred years before. From the residence of Governor Green President Harrison viewed a military procession, after which he proceeded to Elizabethport, where he was received by the revenue cutter *Despatch* and conveyed to the foot of Wall Street. Here he disembarked at the spot at which Washington had landed on his journey to take the oath of office. The *Despatch* convoyed by three large steamboats, was greeted on her journey by the war ships of the United States navy, drawn up in line in the North River and upper bay, and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from each vessel.

The naval procession which followed the *Despatch*, was on a grand and imposing scale. After landing in the city, the President proceeded to the Lawyers' Club in the Equitable Building on Broadway, where a reception was given him, followed by a public reception in the Governor's Room in the City Hall. In the evening of the 29th a grand ball occurred at the Metropolitan Opera House. On the second day of the celebration, President Harrison was escorted to St. Paul's Church, Broadway, where the Chief Magistrate occupied the

ANNIVERSARY OF WASHINGTON'S INAUGURATION



PRESIDENT HARRISON BEING ROWED ASHORE AT WALL STREET DURING THE
INAUGURATION CENTENNIAL

After a photograph

same pew which Washington had occupied on the day of his inauguration. Here the Rt. Rev. Henry C. Potter, Bishop of New York, officiated, as did Bishop Samuel Provost in 1789. On a platform erected around a bronze statue of Washington at the granite steps of the sub-Treasury building, the site of Federal Hall, where the first President took his oath of office, the Literary Exercises of the second day occurred. John Greenleaf Whittier read a poem and Chauncey M. Depew delivered an oration. President Harrison also addressed the throng. These exercises being concluded, Archbishop Michael A. Corrigan pronounced the benediction. Then followed a grand military procession, with Major-General Schofield as Chief Marshal. This was reviewed by the President and other dignitaries at Madison Square. In the procession marched over 50,000 men. At the conclusion

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of the second day's pageant the Metropolitan Opera House was a scene of a brilliant banquet. The third day witnessed an industrial parade with more than 100,000 men in line.

Mr. Blaine was now the most eminent of the older statesmen surviving, and President Harrison could not do otherwise than make him Secretary of State ; but even he was hardly so conspicuous as the younger leaders, McKinley, Lodge and Reed. This became noticeable when the Republicans in the House began to initiate their policy. This policy was mainly embodied in three measures, the Federal Elections Bill, the Dependent Pensions Bill, and the McKinley Tariff Bill. Only the last two became laws, and but one of these long survived.

To enact any of those bills required certain parliamentary innovations, which were triumphantly carried through by the Speaker of the House in the Fifty-first Congress, Hon. Thomas B. Reed, of Maine. One of them was this Speaker's practice of declining to entertain dilatory motions ; another, more important, his order to the clerk to register, as "present and not voting," those whom he saw endeavoring by stubborn silence to break a quorum. The Constitution provides that a majority of either House shall be a quorum for the transaction of business. Although the Sergeant-at-Arms was empowered to compel the presence of members, yet, hitherto, unless a majority of the House answered to their names, no majority was recorded as "present," and legislation could be blocked. As the traditional safeguard of minorities and as a compressed air-brake on majority action, silence was indeed golden. Under the Reed theory, since adopted, that the House may, through the Speaker, determine the presence of a quorum in its own way, the Speaker's or the Clerk's eye was substituted for the voice of any recalcitrant member in demonstrating the member's presence. The most strenuous opposition met the attempt to enforce this new rule. On the "Yeas and Nays" or at any roll-call some Democrats would dodge out of sight,

THE REED "TYRANNY"

others start to rush from the Chamber, to be confronted by closed doors. Once Mr. Kilgore, of Texas, kicked down a door to make good his escape. Till resistance proved vain the minority would at each test rave round the Chamber like so many caged tigers, furious but powerless to claw the "tyrant from his throne." Yet, having calculated the scope of his author-



THOMAS B. REED

ity, Mr. Reed coolly continued to count and declare quorums whenever such were present. The Democratic majority of 1893 somewhat qualified the newly discovered prerogative of the Speaker, giving it, when possible, to tellers from both parties. Now and then they employed it as a piece of Democratic artillery to fire at Mr. Reed himself; but he each time received the shot with smiles.

The cause which the Reed "tyranny" was in 1890 meant to support made it doubly odious to Democrats. For years negroes in parts of the South had been practically disfranchised. To restore them the suffrage, the Republicans proposed federal supervision of federal elections, supported, in last resort, by federal arms. A "Force Bill" being introduced into Congress, sectional bitterness reawoke. The South grew alarmed and angry. One State refused to be represented at the Chicago Fair, a United States Marshal was murdered in Florida, and a Grand Army Post was mobbed at Whitesville, Ky., on Memorial Day. A proposal for a Southern boycott of Northern merchandise had influential support. Against the threatened legislation Northern phlegm co-operated with Southern heat. Many who were not Democrats viewed the situation at the South as the Republicans' just retribution for enfranchising ignorance and incompetence, and preferred white domination there to a return of carpet-bag times. Others dreaded the measure as sure to perpetuate the

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Solid South. The House passed the bill, but in the Senate it encountered obdurate opposition. Forced over to the second session, where its passage depended on some form of *clôture*, it was finally lost through a coalition of free-silver Republican Senators with Senators from the South, standing out against so radical a change in the Senate rules.

The Republican majority in the Fifty-first Congress found the overflowing Treasury at once embarrassing and tempting. Their policy touching it, involving vast expenditures, won for this Congress the title of the "Billion Dollar Congress." The most prominent and permanent among its huge appropriations was entailed by the Dependent Pensions Act, approved June 27, 1890, which was substantially the same as the one vetoed by President Cleveland three years before. In it culminated a course of legislation. Our well-meant pension system had its evil side. The original intention of it was easily perverted. In 1820 our less than 10,000,000 people were alarmed that pensions to revolutionary soldiers aggregated \$2,700,000. "The revolutionary claimant never dies," became the proverb. Investigation revealed that one-third of the admitted claims were fraudulent. This was the result of a Dependent Pensions Act, for the relief of all indigent Revolutionary veterans who had served nine months. History repeated itself.

The numerous pensionable cases originated by the Civil War raised up a powerful class of pension attorneys, able to control, to a great extent, public opinion and legislation. Their agency was at the root of the demand which induced Congress in 1880 to endow each pensioner with a back pension equal to what his pension would have been had he applied on the date of receiving his injury. Unsuccessful in the Forty-fourth Congress, the bill was in 1880 sent with all speed to President Hayes, who gave it his approval, in spite of the vastly increased expenditure which the act must entail. Outgo for pensions under the old law had reached its maxi-

EVILS CONNECTED WITH THE PENSION SYSTEM

num in 1871. It was then \$34,443,894.88. In 1878 this item of our national expenditure was only \$27,137,019.08. The next two years doubled the amount. In 1883 it exceeded \$66,000,000; in 1889 it was \$87,624,000. But the act of 1890 was the most sweeping yet, pensioning all Unionists who had served in the war ninety days, provided they were incapacitated for manual labor, and the widows, children and dependent parents of such. At the beginning of the fiscal year 1891-92, the Commissioner of Pensions informed the chiefs of division in his office that he wished one thousand pensions a day issued for each working day of the year; 311,567 pension certificates were issued that year. Rejected claimants by no means abandoned hope, but assaulted the breastworks again and again, many at last succeeding on some sort of "new evidence." Stirred up by attorneys, old pensioners could not rest content, but put in pleas for increase. Thus impelled the pension figure shot up to \$106,493,890 in 1890; \$118,548,960 in 1891; and to about \$159,000,000 in 1893. The maximum seemed thus to have been reached, for the pension outgo for the fiscal year ending with June, 1894, was but \$141,000,000.

June 30, 1890, \$109,015,750 in the four and a half per cent. bonds, redeemable September 1, 1891, were still outstanding. By April 1, 1891, they had, by redemption or purchase, been reduced to \$53,854,250, of which one-half in value was held by national banks to sustain their circulation. To avoid contracting this circulation, the Secretary of the Treasury permitted holders of these bonds to retain them and receive interest at two per cent. About \$25,364,500 was so continued. Interest on the remainder ceased at their maturity, and nearly all were soon paid off. The bonds continuing at two per cent. were all along quoted at par, though payable at the will of the Government, revealing a national credit never excelled in history. On July 1, 1894, after an increase during the previous fiscal year of \$60,000,000, the debt less cash in the

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WILLIAM MCKINLEY

Treasury stood at \$899,313,381. By this time, surplus of revenues, which, in October, 1888, stood at about \$97,000,000, had ceased to trouble the Administration, but at Mr. Harrison's accession it occasioned extreme anxiety.

Under Cleveland's leadership the Democrats would have reduced the revenue by lowering tariff imports. The Republicans proposed to reach the same end by a method precisely the reverse, pushing up each tariff rate toward or to the prohibitive point. This was the policy embodied in the McKinley Bill, which became law October 1, 1890. Sugar, a lucrative revenue article, was made free, and a bounty given to sugar producers in this country, together with a discriminating duty of one-tenth of a cent per pound on sugar imported hither from countries which paid a bounty upon sugar exportation. The reciprocity feature of this bill proved its most popular grace, though it was flouted in the House, and not enacted in the form in which its best-known advocate, Mr. Blaine, conceived it. Reciprocity treaties were concluded with several countries, considerably extending our trade. Those with Germany, France, Belgium and Italy resulted in relieving American pork from the embargo placed upon it in those lands. These successes did not wholly reconcile Mr. Blaine to the bill. By his hostility to the McKinley phase of protection and by his opposition to the idea of a Force Bill, the Secretary of State stood for the time in opposition to the younger Republican leaders, though he probably had with him a majority of his party.

Long schooled to appeal from bad law to what seemed righteous disorder, in the spring of 1891 the State of Louisiana was confronted with an occasion for such appeal that would

HENNESSY WAS A DYING MAN

have sorely tempted the most orderly population in the world. Certain Italians, accused of shooting some of their countrymen, had been convicted by false swearing. A second trial being secured, the New Orleans Chief of Police, David C. Hennessy, busied himself with tracing the record of their accusers, who were Sicilians. He was surprised to find evidence that the "Mafia," an oath-bound secret society indigenous to Sicily, had thriving branches in New Orleans, New York, St. Louis and San Francisco. This dreaded organization was wont to demand of its victims sums of money, \$500, \$1,000, or \$2,000 each, the mandate in every case naming some secluded spot for the deposit. Few dared refuse.

Engrossed in his search, the Chief of Police had no idea that he was watched. He probably knew nothing of a certain Italian neighbor of his, Monasterio by name, lately arrived from abroad, occupying a shanty fifty yards from his house. It was nearly time for the trap to be sprung and full exposure made, when, late one evening, Hennessy drew near his home. A boy ran in front of him and gave a peculiar whistle. Next moment the chief was a dying man. Bullets tore three cruel rents in his chest and abdomen, his right knee and his left hand were shot through, and his face, arms and neck were shockingly mutilated. Though he languished till the next morning, the only explanation that passed his lips was the whispered word, "Dagoes." Within ten minutes of the shooting the immigrant was seized in his shanty. Others were arrested later, but only eleven were held and only nine finally presented. The trial proved that Hennessy's assassins hid in Monasterio's hut, and that an Italian boy was posted to notify them of Hennessy's approach. The deadly weapons were found, six shot-guns, five with barrels sawed off and stocks hinged so that they could be doubled up and carried under the clothing.

Verdict was rendered on Friday, March 13, 1891. The judge, usually imperturbable, was observed, when the paper

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was handed him, to look at it for a moment in stupefaction. No wonder. Six of the culprits were acquitted ; in the case of three the jury disagreed ; not one was convicted. "Bribery," said some. Others whispered "Intimidation." All agreed that such a fiasco was an "outrage." Awaiting trial upon a second indictment, and joyfully reckoning upon a similar result next time, the accused were again locked in their cells. At the moment the doors closed behind them a vigilance committee of well-known citizens were writing and sending to the various newspaper offices the following notice :

"Mass Meeting.

"All good citizens are invited to attend a mass meeting on Saturday, March 14th, at ten o'clock A. M., at Clay Statue, to take steps to remedy the failure of justice in the Hennessy case. Come prepared for action."

The assembly at the statue blocked the street-cars and climbed on top of them. Neighboring balconies were peopled

With store of ladies, whose bright eyes rain'd influence.

Words from some influential man in the crowd voiced the unanimous view : "When the law is powerless the rights delegated by the people are relegated back to the people, and they are justified in doing what the law has failed to do." The speaker charged that the jury was corrupted and asked if the people were ready to follow him. The response was favorable, loud, and unanimous. The prison occupied a whole square, its main iron gates frowning upon Orleans Street. From within the deputy sheriff observed a crowd, larger and larger each moment, drifting toward the building. This,



DAVID C. HENNESSY
The New Orleans Chief of Police

“WHO KILLA DE CHIEF?”



The Clay Statue in New Orleans

with the mass meeting at the Clay statue, warned him what to expect. The Italian prisoners, too, had heard of the meeting, and trembled. Carpenters barricading the side entrance were jeered. The small boys in the crowd set up a shout: “Who killa de chief? Who killa de chief?” Then followed the Mafia whistle, but what a new meaning it bore to its authors now! More por-

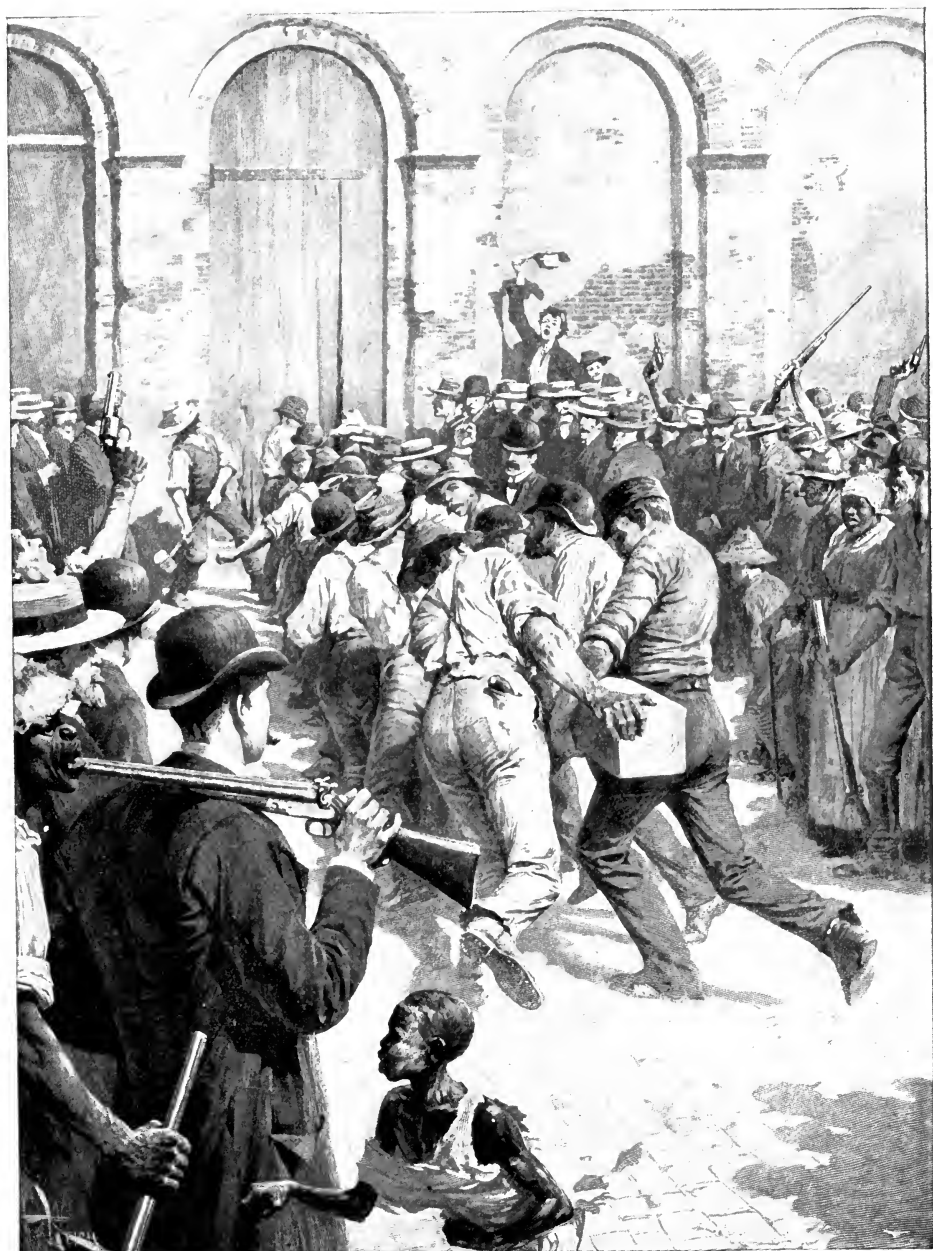
tentous than the chattering of those gamins was the hush long maintained by the multitude. At last this gave way to rolling volleys of applause, growing louder and louder as there was heard the steady cadence of Hennessy’s avengers marching hither from the meeting at the statue. A neighboring wood-pile furnished battering rams, and the work of demolishing the front gates was soon finished, a burly negro aiding with a huge stone. The vigilance committee admitted to the prison not more than sixty men, posting sentries at all exits to shoot down escaping prisoners. The Italians had been set free within the prison, to escape, if they could, by hiding. The boy who had warned them of the chief’s approach on the night of the murder was found beating at the cell doors and begging to be let in. He was spared. Three poor wretches stood in line behind a pillar as

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the lynchers approached. Peeping from his shelter, one was shot through the head; the second stumbled over the corpse and was at once riddled; the third seized an Indian club, and in desperation beat at a door where he hoped for egress, just as a crowd from the other direction broke in. A shot in the forehead failed to fell or dishearten him. Thinking to parry a charge aimed at his shoulder, he lost his hand. The next moment a rifle was pressed to his breast and fired. He sank, and the crowd passed on over him. In the women's yard six more, huddled in an attitude of supplication, were despatched, one body receiving forty-two bullets. Two others were hanged outside the prison. One of these had gone insane, and was kicked to the lamp-post, muttering to himself. At the first attempt to string him up the rope broke; the second time he clutched it and drew himself hand over hand to the cross-piece, but was beaten back to the ground; the third time he repeated the attempt with the same result. When he was successfully hanged deafening cheers went up. The wretch's clothing was stripped from him and torn in pieces, to be distributed as souvenirs.

The crowd was now satisfied with the work done, and walked quietly back to the Clay statue, whence they dispersed.

This incident opened grave international complications, which Mr. Blaine handled with skill. Three of the murdered men had been subjects of King Humbert. Our treaty with Italy, ratified in the early seventies, provided that "the citizens of each of the high contracting parties should receive in the States and territories of the other the most constant protection and security for their persons and property, and enjoy in this respect the same rights and privileges as were, or should be, granted to the natives." The Italian Consul at New Orleans stated that while some of the victims were bad men, many of the charges against these were without foundation; that the violence was foreseen, and could have



AN EPISODE OF THE LYNCHING OF THE ITALIANS IN NEW ORLEANS
The Citizens Breaking Down the Door of the Parish Prison

Drawn by W. R. Leigh from photographs and descriptions

BLAINE AND DI RUDINI

been prevented ; that he had in vain requested military protection for the prisoners ; and that at the massacre he and his secretary had been assaulted and mobbed.

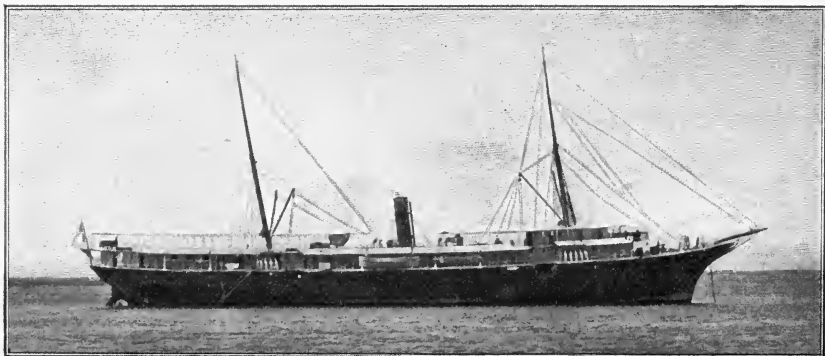
On the very day when the prisoners were killed, Italy sent her protest to Mr. Blaine, who expressed his horror at the deed. He at the same time urged Governor Nicholls to see the guilty brought to justice. The Italian Premier, Marquis di Rudini, insisted on indemnity for the murdered men's families, and on the instant punishment of the assassins. Mr. Blaine did not regard indemnity as a right which the Italian Government could maintain, though intimating that the United States would not refuse it in this case. Demand for the summary punishment of the offenders he declared unreasonable, since the utmost that could be done at once was to institute judicial proceedings, and this function, he explained, could not be assumed by the United States, but belonged exclusively to the State of Louisiana. "The foreign resident," said he, "must be content in such cases to share the same redress that is offered by the law to the citizen, and has no just cause of complaint or right to ask the interposition of his country if the courts are equally open to him for the redress of his injuries?"

The Italian public thought this equivocation, a mean truckling to the American prejudice against Italian immigrants. Baron Fava, the Italian minister at Washington, could not see why Italian subjects in America should not receive the same protection accorded to Americans in Italy. In vain did Mr. Blaine set forth that by our federal system foreign residents, however shielded by treaty, cannot, any more than citizens, claim protection from the national authority direct. Baron Fava was ordered, failing to obtain assurance of indemnity and of immediate and impartial judicial proceedings, to "affirm the inutility of his presence near a government that had no power to guarantee such justice as in Italy is administered equally in favor of citizens of all nationalities." Mr. Blaine replied that

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the Italian Premier was endeavoring to hurry him in a manner contrary to diplomatic usage, and that he could announce no decision until the cases of the massacred Italian subjects had been investigated. "I do not," said he, "recognize the right of any Government to tell the United States what it shall do; we have never received orders from any foreign power and shall not begin now." It was to him "a matter of indifference what persons in Italy think of our institutions. . . I cannot change them, still less violate them." Such judicial proceedings as could be had against the lynchers broke down completely. The Italian minister withdrew, but his government was finally persuaded to accept \$25,000, to be distributed among the families of the murdered men.

When Mr. Blaine was for the second time made Secretary of State a Chilian paper spoke of him as "that foreign minister who made us so much trouble." Aided by his own unfortunate choice of a minister thither, Chile now became a cause of trouble to Mr. Blaine. The country was in the throes of a civil war between the "presidential party"—adherents of President Balmaceda—and the "congressional party." Mr. Egan eagerly espoused Balmaceda's cause, alienating the congressional party and a majority of the people. The misunderstanding was aggravated by the *Itata* incident. On May



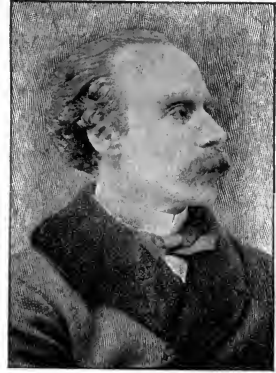
THE *ITATA* IN SAN DIEGO HARBOR

From a photograph by Slocum

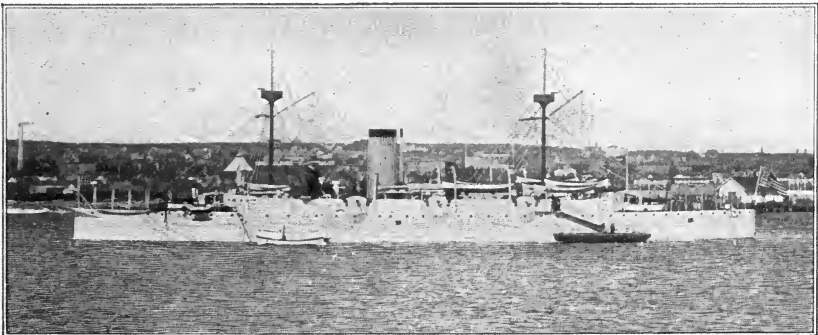
EGAN'S WOES IN CHILE

6, 1891, the *Itata*, a Chilian cruiser in the service of the Congressionalists, was, at the request of the Chilian minister, seized at San Diego by the United States marshal, on the ground that she was about to carry a cargo of arms to the Revolutionists. The next day she put to sea, defying the marshal's injunction. Two days after the cruiser *Charleston* set out in pursuit, but reached Callao without having seen her quarry. On June 4th the offender surrendered to the United States squadron at Iquique. Congressionalists in Chile were angry at us for meddling with the *Itata*, the President's party for not making our intervention effective. Excitement ran so high in Chile that it was unsafe for Americans to be recognized anywhere on Chilian territory. On October 17th some sailors from the *Baltimore* were attacked in Valparaiso, two being killed and eighteen hurt. To Secretary Blaine's demand for an explanation the Chilian Foreign Office replied on October 28th. Later was furnished a satisfactory indemnity.

Another incident attracting some attention in 1890 referred to General Barrundia, a political refugee from Guatemala,



PRESIDENT BALMACEDA
OF CHILE



THE CHARLESTON IN SAN DIEGO HARBOR

From a photograph by Slocum

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

who took passage on the Pacific Mail steamer *Acapulco*, for Salvador. The captain, Pitts, assured Barrundia that, though the steamer was to call at several Guatemalan ports, he would not be delivered to the Guatemalan authorities. These nevertheless sought to arrest him at Champerico and again at San José de Guatemala. The United States Minister, Mr. Mizner, Consul-General Hosmer and Commander Reiter, of the United States Ship of War *Ranger* then present in the port of San José, believed that Guatemala had a right to do this, as the *Acapulco* lay in Guatemala's territorial waters. They so advised Captain Pitts, who then, though with the utmost reluctance, permitted the arresting party to board the *Acapulco*. Barrundia resisted capture and was killed. Mizner's action was severely censured by Secretary Blaine and he was called home. Commander Reiter, also, for not interfering to prevent the arrest, was deprived of his command, receiving, moreover, a sharp letter from the Secretary of the Navy. The officer complained that this letter "conveyed a severe public reprimand—a punishment which could be inflicted legally only by the sentence of a general court-martial." He was afterward restored, but to another command. Our Government's attitude in this affair, seeking to set up a doctrine of asylum on merchant ships, was, in international law, wholly untenable. The two officials were cruelly punished for having acted with admirable judgment and done each his exact duty.



ROBERT E. PATTISON
From a photograph by Gutekunst

In the congressional campaign of 1890 issue upon the neo-Republican policy was squarely joined. The Republicans had interpreted Harrison's victory as a popular mandate, given *carte blanche*, and had legislated as if never to be called to account. The 1890 election, a "landslide" unpre-

MR. QUAY FLAYED

cedented in our political history, revealed their error. The House of Representatives was now overwhelmingly Democratic. Pennsylvania once more elected Pattison Governor, and also gave the Democrats three new seats in Congress. In this State the turn of the tide was partly due to the Republican dislike of Senator Quay. Early in 1890 Mr. H. C. Lea, of Philadelphia, had made charges, reiterated in leading journals with wealth of detail, to the effect that as State Treasurer Quay had been guilty of peculation. Honorable Robert P. Kennedy, a Republican member from Ohio, speaking in the House of Representatives, impeached Quay on the same ground. Kennedy's indictment was expunged from the record, which widened rather than narrowed its influence.

The political change was far from local. The Pacific slope aside, huge Democratic gains occurred everywhere. The defeated referred their fall to "off-year" apathy, but that was not its sole or its main cause. The Billion Dollars gone, the Force Bill, and to a less extent the McKinley tariff, had aroused popular resentment. The new law so disliked at home was naturally odious abroad. France, Germany and Austria talked of reprisals. So did Great Britain. By the tirades against him there McKinley was for a time better known in Europe than any other American. Yet so long as the sun shone Europe diligently made hay. Just as the advanced rates were about to go into effect ocean greyhounds came racing hither to bring in, under the old duties, all the goods they could. The *Etruria's* speed, saving a few seconds, was said to have won the owners of her cargo no less than \$1,000,000 in this way. Vast as was its preponderance of Democrats, the new House could of course carry no low-tariff



MATTHEW QUAY
Senator from Pennsylvania

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measure against Harrison and the Senate; but it passed a number of "pop-gun bills" for free raw materials, as if to make "coming events cast their shadows before."

The international copyright bill of the McKinley Congress was one of the most conspicuous of its enactments, the more conspicuous in that it drew the favorable comment of the "literary." In 1886 an international conference, from which Austria-Hungary, Russia and the United States were absent, resulted in a treaty for international copyright. Two years later the United States Senate passed a bill, which failed in the House, intended to reconcile our law with that idea. In 1890 the House in turn passed a bill with similar intent, but involving severe provisions against importing foreign books. The Senate amended these features so as to permit the importation of foreign-made books like other foreign articles. The bill ultimately passed, approved by the President on March 3, 1891, provided for United States copyright for any foreign author, designer, artist or dramatist, provided "that in case of a book, photograph, chromo or lithograph, the two copies of the same required to be delivered or deposited with the Librarian of Congress shall be printed from type set within the limits of the United States, or from plates made therefrom, or from negatives or drawings on stone made within the limits of the United States or from transfers therefrom." Foreign authors, like native or naturalized, could renew their United States copyrights; and penalties were prescribed in the new law to protect these rights from infringement.

CHAPTER VII

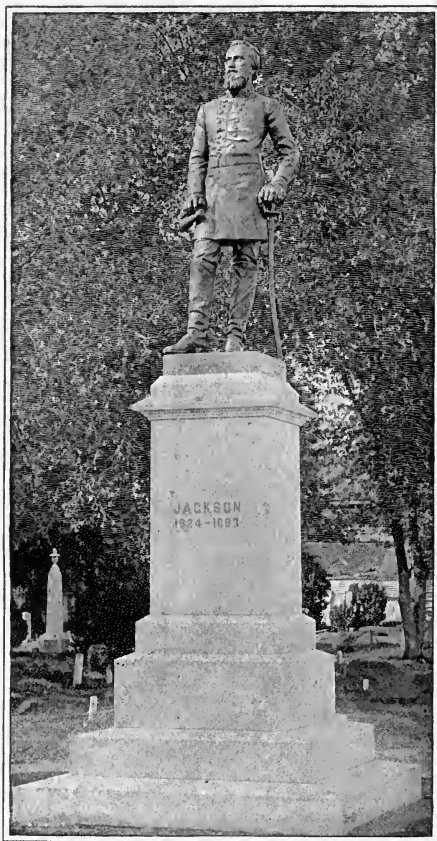
IMPORTANT EVENTS MAINLY NON-POLITICAL DURING HARRISON'S TERM

SIGNS OF A NEW TIME.—HENRY W. GRADY.—BAD TEMPER OVER JEFF. DAVIS.—ZACHARIAH CHANDLER ARRAIGNS DAVIS.—GEN. SHERMAN DOES THE SAME.—OKLAHOMA.—THE "BOOMERS."—GROWTH OF THE TERRITORY.—THE "MESSIAH CRAZE" AMONG THE INDIANS.—ITS ALLEGED ORIGIN.—ANOTHER ACCOUNT.—END OF SITTING BULL.—RELATED MANIFESTATIONS OF THE DELUSION.—THE JOHNSTOWN FLOOD.—DEVASTATION AND DEATH.—RELIEF WORK.—THE SEATTLE FIRE.—FATAL CONFLAGRATION IN SECRETARY TRACY'S WASHINGTON HOME.—THE LOUISIANA LOTTERY.—ITS FIGHT FOR LIFE.—ITS DEFEAT AND BANISHMENT.—MORMONISM.—ANTI-POLYGAMY LAWS.—THE MOUNTAIN MEADOWS MASSACRE.—EXECUTION OF JOHN D. LEE.—THE EDMUNDS LAW.—ITS RIGOR.—THE HIGHEST COURT SUSTAINS IT.—A "REVELATION" AGAINST POLYGAMY.—AMNESTY AND PARDON.—UTAH A STATE.—GEARY ANTI-CHINESE LAW.—THE UNITED STATES IN SAMOA.—HURRICANE THERE.—ESCAPE OF THE CALLIOPE.—ADMIRAL KIMBERLY TO CAPTAIN KANE.—RUSSIAN FAMINE OF 1892.—THOUGHT OF RELIEF FROM AMERICA.—MINNEAPOLIS IN THE LEAD.—DESPERATE SITUATION IN RUSSIA.—RUSSIANS' OWN GENEROSITY.—THE SUPPLIES FROM AMERICA.—WISDOM SHOWN IN DISTRIBUTING THEM.—PHILADELPHIA CONTRIBUTES.—GOOD EFFECTS OF THE RELIEF MOVEMENT.—POLITICAL "TIDAL WAVES" OF 1892 AND 1894.

IN 1890 and 1891 an old cycle appeared distinctly merging into a new. Memorials rising on every hand shocked one with the sense that familiar figures and recent issues were already of the past. These two years saw monuments raised to Horace Greeley, Robert E. Lee, Henry Ward Beecher, Stonewall Jackson, Garfield and Grant. The year of Grant's death was also that of Hendricks's, to whom a statue was speedily erected in Indianapolis. The next year Logan, Arthur and Hancock departed. General Sheridan died in 1888. In 1891 General Sherman and Admiral Porter fell within a day of each other. General Johnston, who had been

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a pall-bearer at the funeral of each, rejoined them in a little over a month. All these heroes of the war followed Grant to the tomb in 1885, and had now followed him beyond it. A monument just reared at Atlanta was a reminder of Henry W.



THE STATUE OF THOMAS J. JACKSON AT LEXINGTON, VA.

Unveiled July 21, 1861, the Thirtieth Anniversary of the First Battle of Manassas, where he gained his sobriquet of "Stonewall." E. B. Valentine, Sculptor

(The face is from a death-mask by Volk, and the pedestal covers the vault where are the bodies of Jackson and his two daughters.)

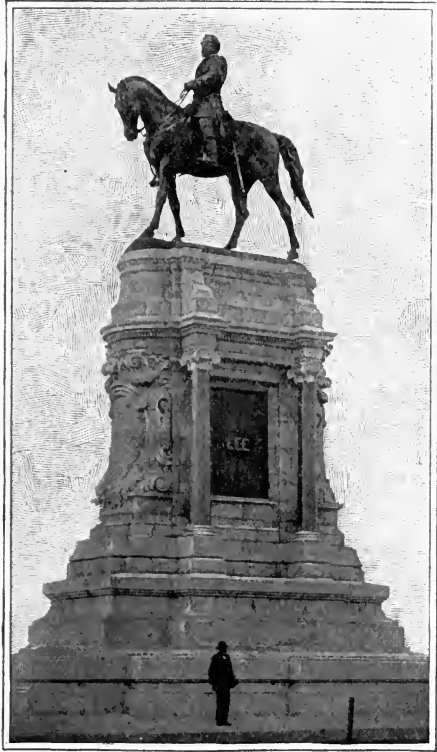
Grady's recent death, in which the morning star of the New South faded from our sky. The fraternal strife ending in 1865 began to seem a far memory. The locality of Lee's monument at Richmond, amid streets and avenues, was farmland at the time Lee and his army were protecting the city. The unveiling in May, 1890, was indeed no little of a Confederate occasion. Fitzhugh Lee, Joseph E. Johnston, Jubal Early, Longstreet and Gordon were all in attendance and warmly received. The Lost Cause was mentioned, but little was said or done to indicate that any regretted its loss. The Confederate flag was displayed, but not in derogation of the Stars and Stripes.

Grady's death was lamented nowhere more sincerely than at the North. His clever speeches at the New England Society's New York dinner, in 1886, and at the Merchants'

HENRY GRADY

Club dinner in Boston, shortly before his death, December 23, 1889, had brought him fame. He was born in Athens, Ga., in 1851. His father, a man of wealth and a colonel, was killed in the Confederate service. At the universities of Georgia and Virginia he had been a universal favorite, celebrated for a brilliancy akin to genius. Brought up at the feet of Robert Toombs, the youth acquired the old fire-eater's ardor without his venom. After 1876 he wrote for the *New York Herald* and other Northern papers, and his letters made a strong impression. After he, in 1880, became interested in the *Atlanta Constitution*, that sheet was widely read all over the North, doing much to allay sectional animosity.

The last angry outbreak of this related to the ex-President of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis. Northerners might with great satisfaction to themselves, and with justice, speak of their triumph in the war as a victory of and for the Constitution; and they could not but indulge the natural inclination to question the motives of Southern leaders. But Southerners, however loyal, now, to the Union, with equal inevitableness took the



THE EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF
ROBERT E. LEE

On the Allen Plot, West End, Richmond, Va. Unveiled May 20, 1890. Antonin Mercié, Sculptor. Shows Lee as he appeared at the Battle of Gettysburg

(The pedestal is forty feet high, and the statue twenty. The picture shows the pedestal cut on both sides.)

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position that at the time when secession occurred the question of the nature of the Union had not been settled ; that, therefore, Mr. Davis and the rest might attempt secession not as foes of the Union but as, at heart, its most loyal friends and defenders.

In the early morning hours of March 3, 1879, ingenious chemists of the Republican party had concocted in the Senate an acrid and effervescent parliamentary mixture, giving a foretaste of the Bloody Shirt campaign tactics of 1880. The question of suitable pensions to the soldiers and sailors of the Mexican War being under debate, matters suddenly took a partisan turn, evoking bitter controversy, when Senator Hoar moved an amendment to except Jefferson Davis from the benefits of the act, a move which some years before, in the hands of James G. Blaine in the House of Representatives, had met with brilliant success in connection with an amnesty bill. General Shields did not wish further to exalt Mr. Davis by such a distinction. Senator Thurman opposed making Davis a vicarious sacrifice. Exasperated by the invidious import of the amendment and by remarks from the Republican side, Southern Senators launched into extrava-

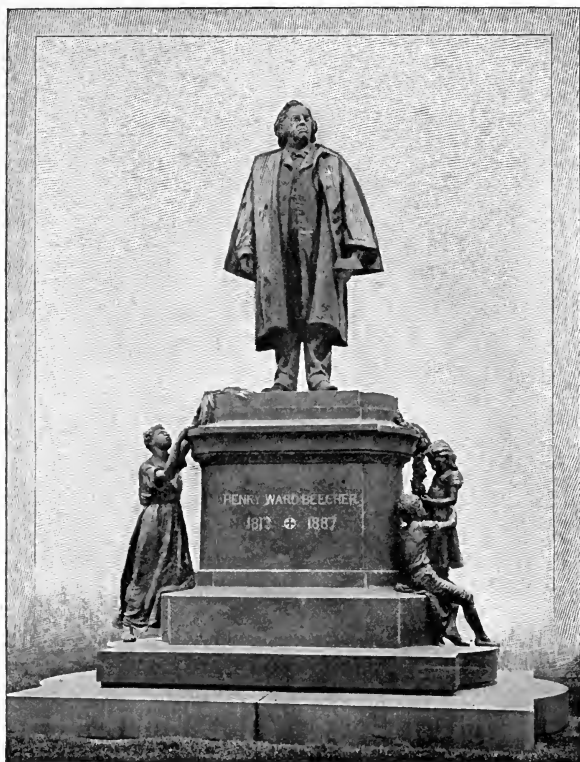
gant eulogies of Mr. Davis, as indiscreet as they were well meant. Senator Garland said : " His services are upon the record of this country, and while they may not surpass, yet they will equal in history all Grecian fame and all Roman glory." Though it was not yet daylight, sleepy Senators came pressing into the Chamber, while the galleries were recruited from unknown sources.

The debate had proceeded in this strain for some time, when Senator Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan,



HENRY W. GRADY
From a photograph by Motes

THE DISPUTE OVER JEFFERSON DAVIS



THE BEECHER STAUTE IN THE CITY HALL PARK,
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

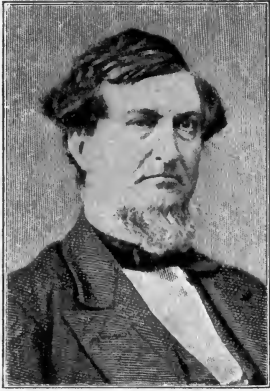
John Q. A. Ward, Sculptor. Unveiled June 25, 1891

arose. His huge frame, loud voice and earnest manner always made his speech effective, but it was particularly so now :

“Mr. President,” said he, “twenty-three years ago to-morrow, in the old Hall of the Senate, now occupied by the Supreme Court of the United States, I, in company with Mr. Jefferson Davis, stood up and swore that I would support the Constitution of the United States.”

After narrating Davis’s secession and his opposition to the flag notwithstanding the oath he had taken, Chandler continued : “I remained here, sir, during the whole of that terrible rebellion. I saw our brave soldiers by thousands and hundreds of thousands, ay, I might say millions, pass through

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ZACHARIAH CHANDLER

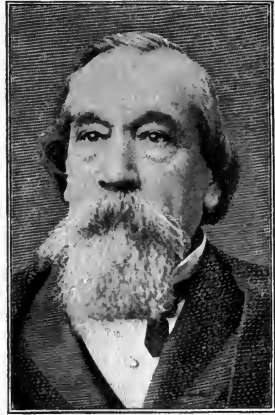
to the theatre of war, and I saw their shattered ranks return; I saw steamboat after steamboat and railroad train after railroad train arrive with the maimed and the wounded; I was with my friend from Rhode Island, General Burnside, when he commanded the Army of the Potomac, and saw piles of legs and arms that made humanity shudder; I saw the widow and the orphan in their homes and heard the weeping and wailing of those who had lost their dearest and their best. Mr. President, I little thought at that time that I should live to hear in the Senate of the United States eulogies upon Jefferson Davis, living—a living rebel eulogized on the floor of the Senate of the United States! Sir, I am amazed to hear it; and I can tell the gentlemen on the other side that they little know the spirit of the North when they come here at this day and, with bravado on their lips, utter eulogies upon a man whom every man, woman and child in the North believes to have been a double-dyed traitor to the Government.”

The presiding officer was unable to repress the applause that ran round the galleries. The speech was quoted with approval all over the North, indicating the state of the public mind at the time. The Hoar amendment was carried; but even so the pension proposal did not commend itself to the Senate, presumably because so many Mexican War veterans were also ex-Confederates.

The question whether or not Jefferson Davis was a traitor came up in the Senate again in 1885. At a Camp Fire of the Grand Army of the Republic at St. Louis, General W. T. Sherman made the assertion that Davis, insincere in his secession doctrines, had in 1865 written threatening to resist

LAMAR *VERSUS* SHERMAN

“separate State action on the part of Southern States even if he had to turn Lee’s army against it.” Davis made rejoinder, calling for the production of the letter. General Sherman could not reproduce the document, but filed in the War Department a statement meant to constitute evidence of his assertion or to show where such could be found. Controversy over Davis was precipitated in the Senate by a resolution of Senator Hawley calling for General Sherman’s statement. The debate waxing bitter, Senator John Sherman sought to justify his brother. He said :



L. Q. C. LAMAR

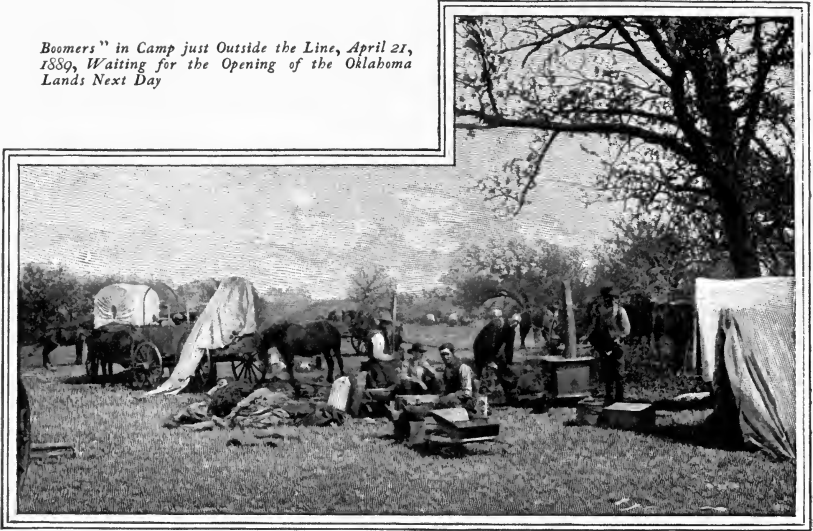
“Sir, whenever, in my presence, in a public assemblage, Jefferson Davis shall be treated as a patriot, I must enter my solemn protest. Whenever the motives and causes of the war, the beginning and the end of which I have seen, are brought in question, I must stand, as I have always stood, upon the firm conviction that it was a causeless rebellion, made with bad motives, and that all the men who led in that movement were traitors to their country.”

Senator Lamar answered with some heat, closing : “We, of the South, have surrendered upon all the questions which divided the two sides in that controversy. We have given up the right of the people to secede from this Union ; we have given up the right of each State to judge for itself of the infractions of the Constitution and the mode of redress ; we have given up the right to control our own domestic institutions. We fought for all these, and we lost in that controversy ; but no man shall, in my presence, call Jefferson Davis a traitor, without my responding with a stern and emphatic denial.”

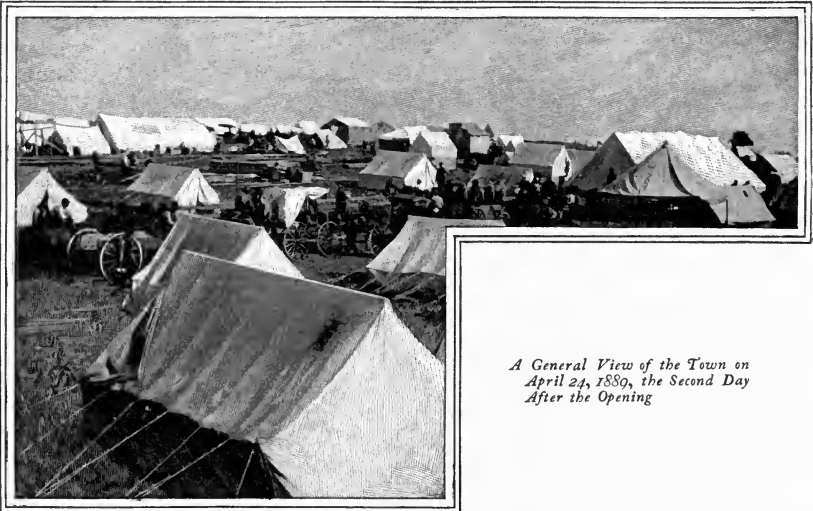
The growth of population still continued to force back the barriers of the Indian reservations. Pressure was now

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Boomers" in Camp just Outside the Line, April 21, 1889, Waiting for the Opening of the Oklahoma Lands Next Day



hardest against that part of Indian Territory known as Oklahoma. This consisted of a large tract which shortly after the Civil War the Seminole Indians sold to the Government with the understanding that no white man but only colonies of In-

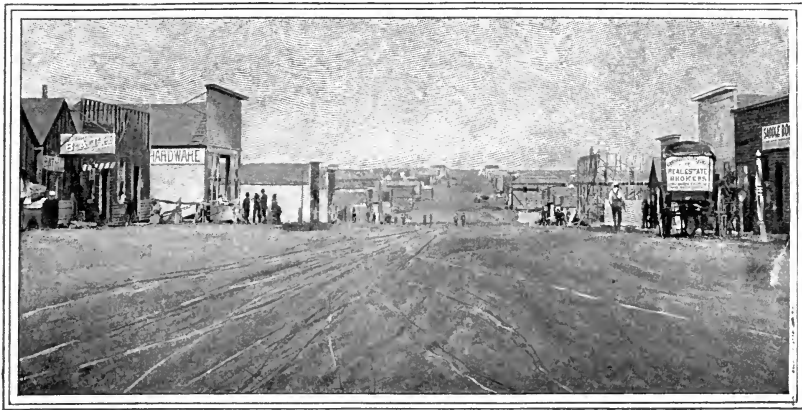


A General View of the Town on April 24, 1889, the Second Day After the Opening

THE BUILDING OF A WESTERN

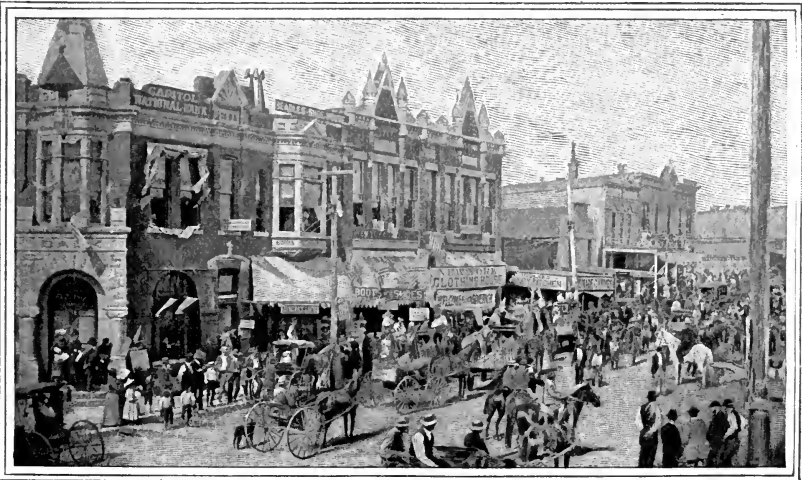
From photographs

RISE OF THE "BOOMER"



A View along Oklahoma Avenue on May 10, 1889

dians and freedmen should settle there. Nevertheless, the great cattle kings had inclosed large tracts of the territory. This imposition, helped by the eviction of small prospectors, raised up the species known as Oklahoma "boomers" or "raiders," who incessantly clamored that this land be opened for settlement. Western nomads called "movers" rallied to



Oklahoma Avenue, as it Appeared on May 10, 1893, during Governor Noble's Visit

TOWN, GUTHRIE, OKLAHOMA

by C. P. Rich

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The Crook Commission Holding a Conference with the Sioux Indians at Lower Brule Agency, S. D., July 3, 1889

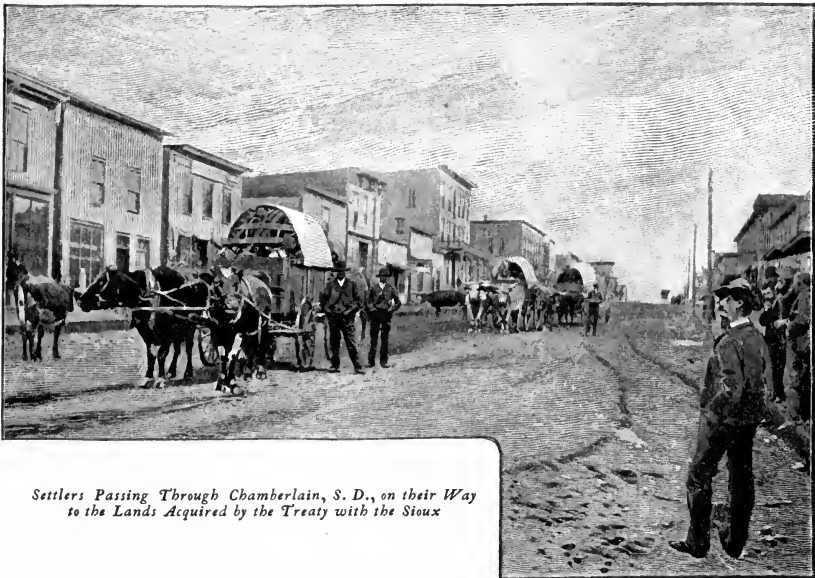
(The negotiations led to the opening for settlers of nine million acres of the Sioux reservation on February 10, 1890.)

every filibustering enterprise into the reservations. One David L. Payn was the first and most famous of the "Oklahoma raiders." He and his allies made repeated forays into the forbidden region, but were each time driven off at the tails of their carts. Kansas real estate men found business dull and added their voices to the cry that Oklahoma must be opened; but they sought their end by legislation rather than by raids.

It at length became obvious that the conditions on which the lands had been bought could not be complied with, and in 1888-89 Congress gladly appropriated \$4,000,000 to obtain a fee simple. The sluice-gates were opened one after another by proclamation. The first one was appointed to give way on April 22, 1889. The incidental advertising which preceded the event spread excitement from Denver to New York. The General Land-Office and the Post-Office Department made hasty preparations for the rush, which involved five times as many people as could obtain foothold. In spite of utmost efforts on the part of the military the woods and val-

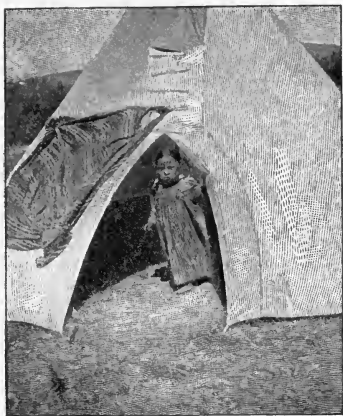
MUSHROOM CITIES

leys of Oklahoma were full of "sooners" before the opening day ; but the vast majority lined up on the borders awaiting the bugle-call at noon of April 22d. When it sounded there was a sudden cloud of dust and a wild scurry of hoofs, wheels and feet, spreading out frontward like a fan. It was said that one man on foot, carrying his kit, ran six miles in sixty minutes to reach his choice claim, where he fell down exhausted. Those in or rushing in at the opening, were followed later by heavily loaded trains from a distance. All went armed, and bloodshed was prevented only with difficulty. Liquor-selling within the territory had to be totally prohibited. At noon on the eventful day Guthrie was only a town site ; at nightfall it was a city of 10,000 and had taken steps toward forming a municipal government. Oklahoma City grew less rapidly, but perhaps more solidly. By June business blocks and residences had risen there, the wonder of all residents. On so short notice the Promised Land had gotten ready for the pilgrims no milk or honey—not even water, though a yellow



Settlers Passing Through Chamberlain, S. D., on their Way to the Lands Acquired by the Treaty with the Sioux

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A DISBELIEVER IN THE "MESSIAH"

From a photograph by H. F. Denton

brackish fluid by that name was peddled on the streets. Sandwiches were hawked for twenty-five cents each, and in the restaurants a plate of pork and beans sold for seventy-five cents. In a day or two the vast majority of the rushers left in disgust at the dust, heat and hardships, many of them being on the point of starving. Yet by December the territory was estimated to hold 60,000 people, who boasted eleven schools, nine churches, three daily and five weekly newspapers. Guthrie had 8,000 and Oklahoma City 5,000 souls, both towns being governed by voluntary acquiescence in the ordinances. Under acts of Congress proclamations from time to time opened other tracts, when in each case similar scenes were enacted. The Sioux reservation in South Dakota was unlocked on February 10, 1890. From the towns of Chamberlain and Pierre troops of boomers galloped and ran to locate claims. Carts and wagons loaded with building materials were hurried forward. In one case a house on wheels was dragged across a river on the ice.

In this settlement of their old hunting-grounds Indians saw a new imposition by the whites. Their lands had been seized piece by piece and their attempts to get justice or revenge had only added to their misery. Many savages passed the winter of 1890 on the verge of starvation because of the Government's failure to provide rations. In South Dakota twelve hundred were in this condition. In such extremity many tribes ordinarily hostile to each other together gave up to the so-called "Messiah craze." Six thousand fighting men in North Dakota and as many more in the

THE INDIAN "MESSIAH CRAZE"

Indian Territory were infected. Sioux, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Osage, Missouri and Seminole Indians participated in the ghost dances, which formed an invariable part of the new cult. There were several accounts of the delusion, all possibly authentic, and all in some way involving the belief that the Great Spirit or his Representative would soon appear with a high hand and an outstretched arm to deliver the Red men from their White oppressors. They were perhaps versions of Christ's second coming brought to the Indians by missionaries, which fanatics or charlatans had distorted and mixed with vulgar spiritualism.

According to what was said to be the original story, a young Indian dreamed that the Messiah appeared to him, bidding him take other youth of good habits and set out by a way revealed through an unknown country to the Great Sea. At each camping place on the journey they found a spring supplying just enough water for them to drink. Arrived at the shore of the Great Sea, amid a strong light which shone ever brighter and brighter, they saw in dim outline the Son of



SIoux INDIANS ABOUT TO TAKE PART IN A "GHOST DANCE"
(During the "Messiah Craze")

From a photograph in the possession of H. F. Denton

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the Great Spirit coming toward them over the water. The prints of the nails were visible in his hands and feet and the spear-marks in his side. He bade them come out to him, but they dared not, and he drew close to the shore. Avowing a long-time sympathy with the red men, he taught them that this earth was merely their temporary home and that those who were faithful to him would after death be taken to a better country. He advised them touching the way to live, warning them above all things not to attempt a war against the whites. Finally he said: "Return to your homes, tell your friends what you have seen, and assure them of my interest in them." Ere they could thank him the Son of the Great Spirit had gone and they saw and heard nothing but the dashing waves of the Great Sea.

Certain of the prophets had it that the Mighty Spirit promised to put all the Indians behind him and all the whites in front, then bury the whites with their tallest works deep underground, while the prairie would thunder with the tramp of buffalo and the gallop of wild horses. To others the Messiah appeared and said, "I will teach you a dance, and I want you to dance it." They obeyed, uttering weird chants and cries of "The buffaloes are coming!" General Miles thought that this strange hallucination, spreading so steadily and far, indicated "a more comprehensive plot than anything inspired by Tecumseh or even Pontiac."

Here and there an Indian was above the superstition. Red Cloud prophesied: "If it (the new gospel) is true it will spread all over the world; if not it will melt like snow under the hot sun." Little Wound said they would dance till spring, but stop if the Messiah did not then appear. Sitting Bull, the whites' inveterate enemy, the old schemer who had stayed behind and made medicine during the Custer fight, now had a characteristic interview with the Indian Messiah, who wished to know what he would like. He replied that he would take a little buffalo meat, as he had not had any for a

DEATH OF SITTING BULL

long time. In response, as he reported, a herd of buffaloes appeared, when, shooting one, he cooked and ate its hump. Elated by the confidence of the Superior Power, Sitting Bull grew troublesome. In December the Indian police arrested him with others, and in attempting to escape he was killed. Fortunately, the craze became less intense and dangerous as it spread. The Southern negroes in sections lent a ready ear to "voodoo doctors," and soon ghost dances were common also among them. Even the scattered Aztecs of Mexico gathered by hundreds around the ruins of their ancient temple at Cholula. There they performed mystic rites and looked for a Messiah who should cause Popocatpetl to inundate the country with lava till all but the Aztecs were destroyed, and should then raise them again to their pristine glory.

On May 31, 1889, western Pennsylvania was visited by one of the most awful catastrophes ever chronicled. A flood

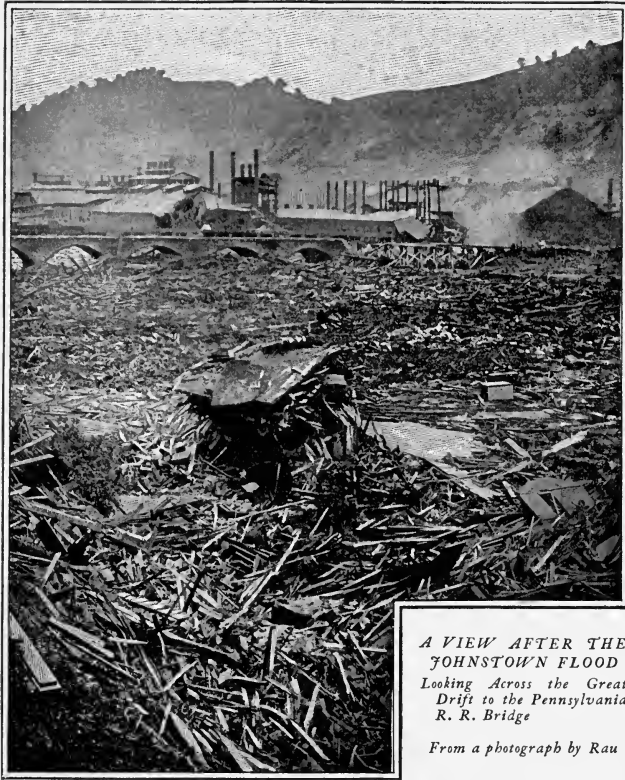


MAIN STREET, JOHNSTOWN, AFTER THE FLOOD

Wreckage piled up thirty or forty feet high

From a photograph by Rau

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



*A VIEW AFTER THE
JOHNSTOWN FLOOD
Looking Across the Great
Drift to the Pennsylvania
R. R. Bridge*

From a photograph by Rau

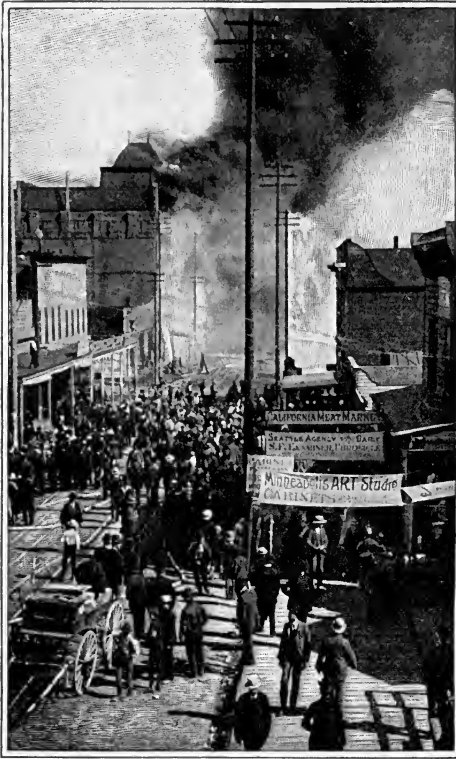
from a burst reservoir annihilated the city of Johnstown with its numerous suburbs, destroying thousands of lives and \$10,000,000 worth of property. The reservoir was two and a half miles in length, one and a half broad at places, one hundred feet deep in places, and situated two hundred and seventy-five feet above the level of Johnstown. Heavy rains had fallen and the dam was known to be weak; yet the people below, who were repeatedly warned during the day, took no alarm. When, starting just before the break, about 3 P.M., Engineer Park galloped down the valley shouting to all to run for their lives, it was too late. Hard behind him came thundering along at a speed of two and a half miles a minute, a mountain of water fifty feet high, thirty feet wide at first,

THE JOHNSTOWN FLOOD

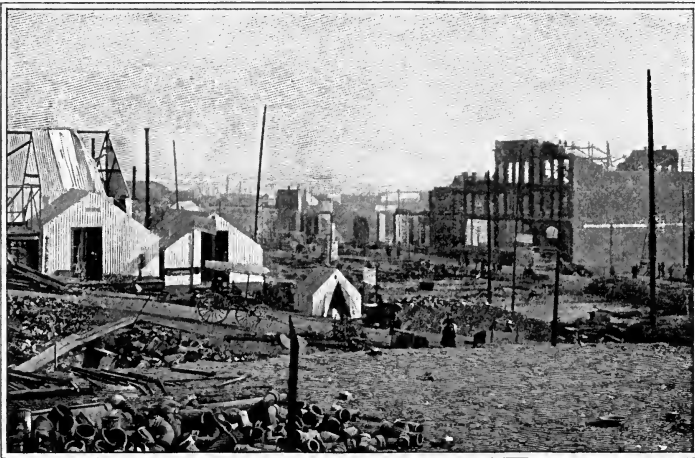
and widening to half a mile, bearing upon its angry crest, whole or in fragments, houses, factories, bridges, and at length villages, and growing wilder, higher, swifter, deadlier and more powerful as it moved. Trees, brush, furniture, boulders, pig and railway iron, corpses, machinery, miles and miles of barbed wire, and an indescribable mass of miscellaneous wreckage, all inextricably mixed, also freighted the torrent. Immense mills were knocked from their foundations, and whirled down stream like children's block-work. Pig-iron by the hundred tons was borne away, the bars subsequently strewn for miles down the valley. Engines weighing twenty tons were tossed up and on as if the law of gravity had been repealed. One locomotive was carried a mile. At Johnstown, where the shape of the valley generated an enormous whirlpool, the roar of the waters and the grinding together of the wreckage rent the air like lost spirits groaning in chorus.

Hundreds who had clambered to the roofs of houses floated about on that boiling sea all the afternoon and night, shot hither and thither by the crazy flood. Most who met death were, we may hope, instantly drowned, but many clung to fragments, falling into the waters only when their strength gave way, their limbs were broken or their brains dashed out. A telegraph operator at Sanghollow saw one hundred and nineteen bodies, living or dead, float by in an hour. Early next morning two corpses had reached Pittsburg, seventy-eight miles distant. A little boy was rescued who, with his parents, a brother and two sisters, had sailed down from Johnstown in a small house. This went to pieces in going over the bridge, and all were drowned but he. A raft formed from part of a floor held a young man and two women, probably his wife and mother. As they neared Bolivar bridge a rope was lowered to rescue them, and the man was observed to be instructing the women how to catch and hold it. Himself succeeded in clutching it, but they failed, whereupon he purposely let go and regained the raft as it lurched under the

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



bridge. Later it struck a tree, into which with preternatural skill and strength he helped his *protégées* to climb; but a great wreck soon struck the tree, instantly overwhelming the trio in the seething tide. Fate reached the acme of its malignity next day, June 1st, after the flood had begun to subside. Then the immense boom of *débris* gathered at the railway bridge just below Johnstown—an eighth of a mile wide and long, from thirty to



THE SEATTLE FIRE

The Beginning of the Fire, Looking South on Front Street, and a View Showing the Ruins, Looking South from Commercial Street

RELIEF FOR THE SUFFERERS

fifty feet deep, and rammed so solid that dynamite was at last required to rend it—took fire. The flames raged for twelve hours. No effort was spared to recover the living imprisoned in the pile. Fifty or more were taken out, but it is feared that no fewer than five hundred perished.

Relief work began at once, commendably systematic and thorough, and on a scale commensurate with the disaster. In less than twenty-four hours, spite of washed-out tracks and ruptured telegraph-wires, Pittsburg had trainloads of provisions in Johnstown, and a body of nearly three hundred active men who comforted, fed, clothed and housed the distressed people until relieved by the Flood Relief Commission on June 12th. Pittsburg contributed \$252,000 in money, \$64,000 of it being subscribed in an hour. Philadelphia contributed half a million dollars to the relief fund; New York the same. Nearly every city in the Union aided. President Harrison was chairman of a meeting in Washington where \$30,000 was pledged. Several sums were telegraphed from abroad, among them one of \$1,000 from Baroness Burdett-Coutts. The total of contributions reached \$3,000,000. Trainloads of supplies rolled in. The Red Cross Society, with physicians, nurses, tents, disinfectants, medicines, food and clothing was promptly on the ground. Rigid sanitary provisions were enforced, made specially necessary by the length of time inevitably elapsing before all the dead could be interred. Ere the gloom proceeding from this event was lifted, during the same month of June, the public was horrified afresh by an awful fire in Seattle, Wash., destroying many million dollars worth of property, and demolishing almost the entire business part of the city. Happily, few lives were lost.

In the evening of February 3, 1890, the library of Secretary Tracy's Washington house caught fire. A colored man rang the bell and informed the astonished servant, who threw open the doors of the library, whereupon the fire rushed into the hall, driving him from the house. The flames spread

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

swiftly. Mrs. Wilmerding, the Secretary's daughter, and his granddaughter were saved by leaping from the front windows. A servant girl perished in her room; another servant was rescued from the cornice. At the risk of suffocation men rushed to the Secretary's room. At the door they found the body of his other daughter, whose life had been lost in the attempt to arouse her parents. Inside, Mr. Tracy was stretched unconscious and was with great difficulty restored. His wife, who had vainly tried to move him to the window, now, at the moment of rescue, became bewildered and suffered a fatal fall to the stone area below. At the President's desire the remains of Mrs. and Miss Tracy were removed to the White House, whither they were in due time carried to a place of temporary interment.

The Federal power helped relieve the South from a worse blight than the enactment of the Force Bill would have been. The Louisiana Lottery Company was incorporated in 1868, as a monopoly to last twenty-five years. In 1879 the charter was repealed, but this action was rendered invalid by a judicial decision. A Constitutional Convention which soon followed reinstated the charter, providing that after its expiration all lotteries should be prohibited in the State. By 1890 the lottery had assumed towering proportions. It was estimated to receive one-third of the whole mail matter coming to New Orleans, and it cashed postal notes and money orders to the amount of \$30,000 a day. The press was won to its service and new papers started in its interest. As the year 1893, the term of its charter, drew near, the monster bestirred itself to secure a new lease of life, but it now felt the strength of the Federal arm. In September, 1890, an anti-lottery bill passed Congress, by which, being satisfied that any person or company was conducting a lottery, the Postmaster-General might cause to be returned all registered letters addressed to such person or company, and payment to be refused on postal money orders drawn in

THE LOTTERY AND THE STATE OF LOUISIANA

favor of such. As the express companies, however, still tolerated its patronage, the business of the lottery was safe so long as its native State, Louisiana, continued it in existence. Its fight for life therefore was on Louisiana soil. In return for an amendment to the State Constitution enfranchising the lottery for twenty-five years, the impoverished State was offered \$1,250,000 per year, \$350,000 of this sum to maintain the levees, \$350,000 for charitable purposes, \$50,000 for Confederate pensions, \$100,000 for drainage in New Orleans and \$250,000 for the general fund of the State. In connection with this proposal, it was ingeniously suggested that only seven per cent. of the lottery's revenue came from Louisiana itself.

A bill introduced in the Legislature to give effect to this bargain passed by a two-thirds majority in each house, but was promptly vetoed by Governor Nicholls. Liberal bribes to legislators were supposed to have supplemented the \$1,250,000 per year offered the State; yet in attempting to override this veto, voicing as it truly did the sentiment of thousands, the lottery company feared opposition in the Senate. After pushing the bill once more through the House, its promoters changed front and sent it directly to the Secretary of State for promulgation, on the ground that a proposal for a constitutional amendment, though in form a bill, did not require the Governor's signature. The Secretary of State refused to take this view, but it was sustained by the Supreme Court, three to two. Let a majority of the people now vote "aye" on the proposed amendment, and the lottery was saved. Or, if the Democratic nomination, ordinarily equivalent to an election, fell to lottery candidates,



MURPHY J. FOSTER

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



BRIGHAM YOUNG

From a photograph by Rau

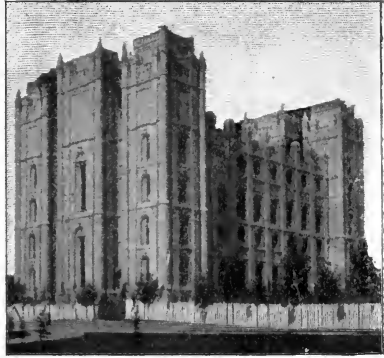
the amendment could again be put upon its passage. The "pro" Democrats carried New Orleans, but most of the country parishes were swept by a fusion of "anti" Democrats and Farmers' Alliance men. The number of contesting delegations, however, placed the result in doubt. Two rival Democratic conventions met at Baton Rouge, each claiming a majority of the delegates elected. The convention of the "antis" nominated Murphy J. Foster for Governor; that of the "pros" ex-Governor McEnery, whose vote as Supreme Judge had been one of the three to sustain the lottery's contention. The "pro" convention having been presided over by the chairman of the State committee, thus giving that faction a show of special legitimacy, the "pro" leaders now made the party-whip sing. Politicians little different from carpet-baggers shouted for harmony, denouncing the "antis" as a third party working to disrupt the Democracy and restore Republican rule. The election, which occurred in April, 1892, negatived the lottery amendment and made Foster Governor. The fight for a constitutional amendment was given up. Not only so, but Foster, while Governor, was permitted to sign an act "prohibiting the sale of lottery tickets and lottery drawings or schemes in the State of Louisiana after December 31, 1893." In January, 1894, the lottery company betook itself to exile on the island of Cuanaja, in the Bay of Honduras, a seat which the Honduras Government had granted it, together with a monopoly of the lottery business for fifty years.

The same year, 1890, formed a crisis in the history of Mormonism in America. The book of Mormon was published in 1830, professing by divine revelation to give an

MORMONS EMIGRATE TO UTAH

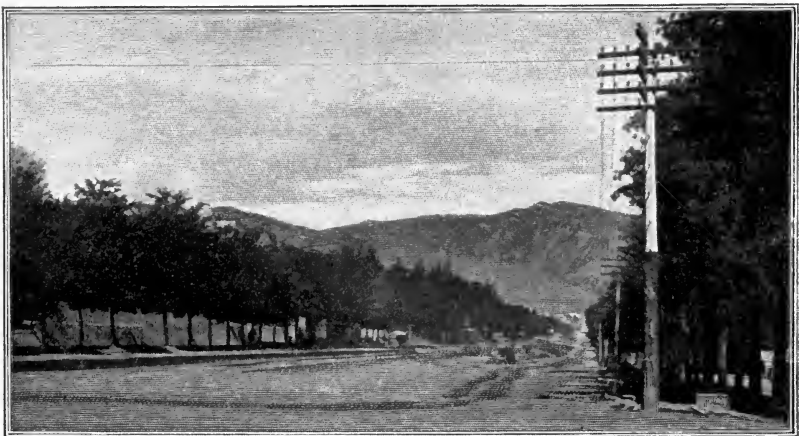
account of the Western Hemisphere, as the Scriptures dealt with the Eastern. Next year not a few converts rallied around the author, Joseph Smith, among them Brigham Young, a granite Vermonter, whose energy soon pervaded the new Church. Though missionaries gathered in armies of recruits from far regions, and though polygamy was not at first avowed

by them as part of their creed or practice, the Mormons seem always to have been unpopular, even odious, with their Gentile neighbors. They were driven from place to place, yet incessantly thriving, till in 1844 their prophet, Joseph Smith, was shot by a mob. Brigham Young now easily and naturally assumed command of the demoralized hosts, leading them with military precision and masterly skill across the Great American Desert to Utah. There for many



THE MORMON TEMPLE AT
SALT LAKE CITY

From a photograph by Rau



MAIN STREET, SALT LAKE CITY

From a photograph by Rau

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

years he was able, by diplomacy and other means, to reign supreme among the "Saints," and to snub the far-off "States" to his heart's content.

In 1855, in 1859 and in 1862 anti-polygamy bills were introduced in Congress. The last, fathered by Senator Morrill, who, like Brigham Young himself, was a Vermonter, became a law, but was enforced only fitfully and to a trifling extent. The invasion of the railroad, and the proclaimed discovery of precious metal mines—a discovery against which Young struggled in vain—destroyed the isolation of the peculiar people, though the Mormon majority could still be maintained by assisted immigration from Mormon colonies abroad.

In 1871 Brigham Young and other leaders were arrested under the 1862 law, and some of them convicted. Others were arrested on charges of murdering Gentiles, a crime of which the Mormons were more than once suspected after the frightful Mountain Meadows Massacre of 1857, though Mormon juries failed to convict those indicted. In 1874 the Poland Act introduced reforms in impaneling juries, when John D. Lee was once more arraigned for complicity in the Mountain Meadows tragedy, and convicted. In March, 1877, twenty years after the commission of the crime wherein he had been leader, this monster was taken to the scene of it. There a cairn and a rude cedar cross rose above the mingled bones of the 120 victims, who had, after surrendering their arms, been murdered in cold blood. The curse of the Almighty seemed to have blasted the vegetation and dried the springs about the hideous site. There Lee seated himself upon his coffin, the sharp report of a volley was heard, and tardy justice was at last meted out.

The measure of 1862 proving inoperative, Senator Edmunds, still another man from Vermont, introduced a bill, which became law March 22, 1882. By it bigamy, polygamy or the cohabitation of a man with more than one woman in

LAWS AGAINST POLYGAMY

any Territory of the United States was made punishable by a fine of not more than \$500 and imprisonment for not more than three years. A person convicted, moreover, could neither vote nor hold any position of public trust or emolument. The children of such illicit relations were to be deemed illegitimate. Jurymen who were living or had lived in these practices, or believed them right, were disqualified.

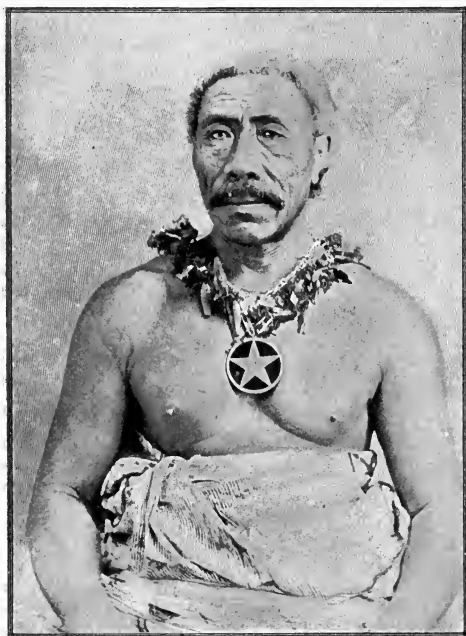
Some of these provisions resembled the "thorough" reconstruction treatment administered to the South after the War. A test-oath was imposed upon voters. Elections were supervised, returns canvassed and certificates supplied by a commission of five persons, three of whom might be of the same political party. If the Commission reminded one of the Returning Boards, there were not wanting in Utah office-holders who seemed to the Mormons nothing but carpet-baggers. Southern statesmen were prominent in opposing the bill as unconstitutional, impolitic and sectional, referring to the easy and frequent divorces in many Northern and Western States as more immoral than aught occurring in Utah.

Nevertheless the law was rigidly enforced. In two years twelve thousand Mormons were disfranchised, though monogamous as well as polygamous Mormons made common cause against the law. When convicted persons promised to obey the laws of the land in future they were set free, but few availed themselves of the chance. On May 19, 1890, and again on December 19, the next year, the Supreme Court declared the law constitutional, thus taking away the last hope of the Mormon hierarchy. This attitude of the court, combined with the influx of Gentile population and the desire that Utah should become a State, which would be impossible while polygamy continued, led, in October, 1890, to a "revelation," which thenceforth made polygamy morally wrong, as it had before been legally. After that date convicts under the Edmunds law with one accord promised to obey it in future,

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

and were without exception set free, sentence being suspended. In December, 1891, the officials, pledging the obedience of the church membership to the laws against plural marriages and unlawful cohabitation, petitioned for amnesty for past offenses, which petition was endorsed by the Utah Commission reporting next year. President Harrison, on January 4, 1893, granted "a full amnesty and pardon to all persons liable to the penalties of said act by reason of unlawful cohabitation under the color of polygamous or plural marriage, who had since November 1, 1890, abstained from such unlawful cohabitation; but upon the express condition that they should in the future faithfully obey the laws of the United States hereinbefore named."

On July 17, 1894, President Cleveland signed a bill providing for a Utah Constitutional Convention in March, 1895, and the constitution framed by that body for the proposed State of Utah was ratified by the people in November, 1895. Utah became a State on January 4, 1896.



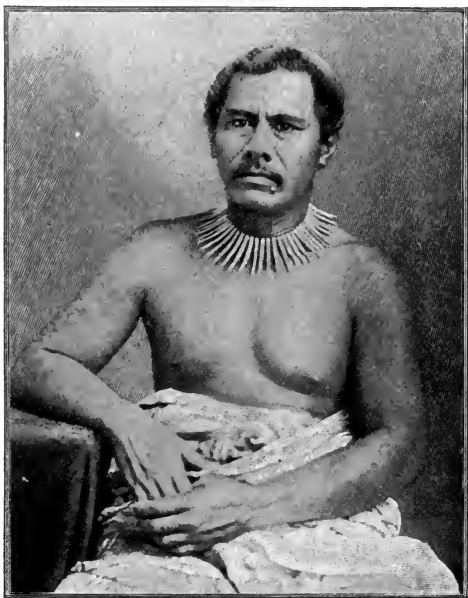
TAMASEE

In 1888 the anti-Chinese act passed during President Arthur's Administration was amended so as to prohibit the return of Chinese laborers who had once departed from this country. In the spring of 1892 Mr. Geary, of California, introduced a still more drastic measure, called after his name. It re-enacted for

UNITED STATES INTEREST IN SAMOA

ten more years all laws regulating and prohibiting Chinese immigration. It provided for the fining, imprisonment and subsequent deportation of all Chinamen who did not within a year obtain certificates from the Government proving their right to be here. Under advice of eminent counsel Chinese laborers generally disobeyed the act, but ten days after the limit expired its constitutionality was affirmed by the Supreme Court. The Executive, however, did not enforce its provisions, owing to a shortage of appropriation. It would have required at least \$5,000,000 to deport all infractors, and only \$100,000 had been provided for the purpose. Congress, therefore, in 1893 extended the time of certification for six months.

In 1878 the United States obtained by treaty the Samoan harbor of Pago Pago, the finest in Polynesia, for a coaling station. The English and Germans had in the islands commercial interests far more important than ours. Later the German and British consuls signed a convention to secure good local government in the town and neighborhood of Apia. The American consul co-operated in this endeavor, but was not a party to the convention. Within six years German influence secured from King Malietoa Laupepe control of the islands, and a little later the German flag was raised over them. Persuaded by



MALIETOA LAUPEPE

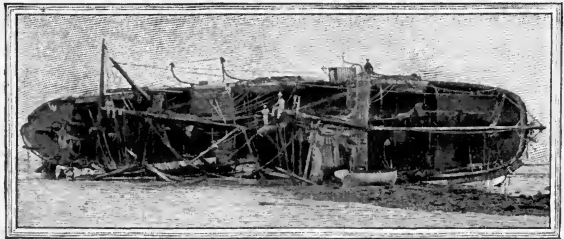
THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



STERN OF THE U. S. S. NIPSIC
Showing the Bent Propeller and the Loss
of Rudder, Rudder-post and Heel

the Samoans, the United States consul assumed a protectorate in opposition, but his action was promptly disavowed at home. Our Secretary of State suggested that a conference of German, British and United States commissioners devise a plan for the election by the natives of a ruler who should be sustained by all three. After several bootless sittings at Washington the conference adjourned, with the express understanding that the *status quo*, Malietoa still king, should be maintained pending further deliberations. Notwithstanding this, and in spite of British and American protest, Bismarck made unreasonable demands upon Malietoa, which, not being complied with in a few hours, were followed by his summary dethronement and the elevation of the German creature, Tamasese.

Early in the spring of 1889, seven warships occupied the harbor of Upolu, near Apia, a body of water barred from the open ocean by a circular coral reef, with a gap in the front centre for the entrance and exit of ships. Three of the vessels were American, the *Trenton*, flagship, Rear-Admiral Kimberly commanding, the *Vandalia* and the *Nipsic*. As many were German, the *Adler*, the *Eber* and the *Olga*. One, the *Calliope*, was British, Captain Kane in command. On March 15th falling barometers indicated the approach of a storm, yet none of the warships made for the clear sea. By

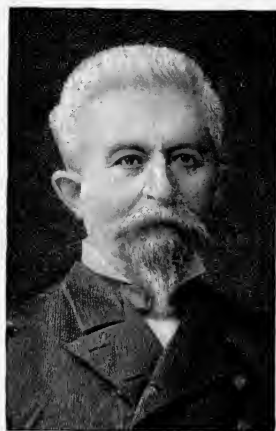


THE GERMAN GUNBOAT ADLER ON HER BEAM-ENDS

THE SAMOAN HURRICANE

daylight of the 16th the typhoon was on, the wind blowing inshore with fearful velocity, rolling mountainous billows into the harbor. The vessels dragged their anchors and several collisions occurred. One vessel lost her smoke-stack, another her bowsprit, but these were comparatively small injuries. Early in the morning the *Eber* crashed against the coral and sank. The *Nipsic* struck sand instead of coral, and lay stranded, but in safety. The *Adler* was also dragged to the reef, and the next wave would have been her ruin too; but just as she scaled the water-mountain the seamen slipped her moorings, so that she was lifted up and thrown on the reef "like a schoolboy's cap upon a shelf." No longer thinking of Germans as foes, the Samoans nobly helped to rescue the survivors, being foremost in that good work all day.

There remained the *Trenton* in the harbor mouth, and the *Calliope* farther in, threatened now on one side by the *Olga*, now on the other by the *Vandalia*, and in the rear continually by the reef. The harbor was death, the high seas salvation, and Captain Kane determined upon a desperate effort to get out. Her furnace walls red-hot and her boilers strained nearly to bursting, the *Calliope* matched her engines against the awful tornado. For a time she stood stationary, then crawled or rather sidled to the gap in the outside reef, close by the *Trenton*, which was pitching at anchor, with fires drowned and wheel and rudder gone. As the Englishman at last came to the wind outside a rousing cheer went up from the American flag-ship, returned with a will by the British tars. The *Vandalia*, trying to beach herself beside the *Nipsic*, missed her aim, struck the reef and slowly settled to her tops,



ADMIRAL KIMBERLY
From a photograph in the collection of
H. W. Fay

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



The Eber

The Adler

The Trenton

SCENE IN THE HARBOR OF UPOLU AFTER THE GREAT SAMOAN HURRICANE
The Natives Going Out to the Wrecked Vessels

From a photograph in the possession of Commander F. E. Chadwick, U. S. N.

which were crowded with men. Then the *Trenton* parted her cables and drifted, helpless as an iceberg, into collision with the *Olga*. The two ships struck once or twice, when the German craft slipped her moorings and escaped, having the *Nipsic's* good fortune to light upon sand instead of hard reef. Impelled by the wind and by some mysterious current, the *Trenton* now bore slowly but surely upon the populous tops of the *Vandalia*, rescuing in her approach the clinging seamen by throwing them lines. Soon she struck and stopped. By next morning she had settled to the gun-deck, but those of her men and the *Vandalia's* who survived successfully reached shore. Admiral Kimberly gathered the shipwrecked Americans about him, and, parading the band of the *Trenton*, had it strike up "Hail Columbia." The *Calliope* returned on the

CIVIL WAR IN SAMOA

19th to find all the other war-ships ruined. Captain Kane hastened to acknowledge the parting cheer sent after him as he put to sea. Our Admiral replied: "My dear Captain: Your kind note received. You went out splendidly and we all felt from our hearts for you, and our cheers came with sincerity and admiration for the able manner in which you handled your ship. We could not have been gladder if it had been one of our ships, for in a time like that I can say truly, with old Admiral Josiah Tatnall, that '*blood is thicker than water.*'"*

Thoughts of war were banished by the havoc Nature had wrought. The conference, renewed in Berlin, ended by a practical back-down on Bismarck's part. Tamasese was deposed, the exiled Malietoa restored. The three powers agreed that after his death the natives should elect a successor. This triangular authority did not work well. It was an annoyance to the Powers and a grievous exasperation to the natives, who regarded the weak Malietoa as merely the scalawag creature of white carpet-baggers. One rebellion, headed by Mataafa, was cut off, and the leaders deported to an island in the Marshall group. Then the younger Tamasese rose, gathering the disaffected Samoans about him. The war-vessels of the Powers were compelled to co-operate in suppressing this rebellion, which after all continued to smoulder.

Of all the Old World's troubles few ever aroused among Americans more interest or generosity than the Russian famine of 1891-92. It was a time when, throughout immense reaches of that far empire, children and the aged were suffering and dying on every hand, no cow or goat for milk, not a horse left strong enough to draw a hearse, old grain stores exhausted, crops a failure, the land a waste, life itself a blackness and a curse. Loud cry for help was raised from every hut in the vast famine region. The cry was not in vain; it was heard on this side of the Atlantic.

*The description of the storm is abridged from R. L. Stevenson's.

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



A Russian peasant in the Famine District

The credit of first turning public attention to the duty of relieving Russia was probably due to *The Northwestern Miller*, a Minneapolis journal devoted to the great flour interests of the Northwest. On December 4, 1891, having previously ascertained from the Russian Government that such a gift would be acceptable, this paper published an appeal to the millers of the United States to unite in sending a cargo of flour to the starving Russians. The Minneapolis millers, the great Pillsbury firm at their head, began generous dona-

tions of flour. Interest spread rapidly through Minnesota, the energetic Governor Merriam ardently assisting, and thence to other States, millers all over the country nobly responding.

Terrible, indeed, was the necessity. Famine was no new thing for great, weak, pitiable Russia; but a famine which brought suffering to thirty millions of people, through twenty provinces, comprising 475,000 square miles of eastern, central and southern Russia, was exceptional even there.

Under ordinary circumstances the Russian peasant was not so far below other peasants as many travellers had

affirmed. Dressed in his unkempt sheepskin, dirty and slovenly, lacking in ambition and the power to help himself rise, he was yet sturdy, industrious and reliable. The provinces visited had once been



"HUNGER BREAD"

(Bread made by starving peasants from weeds, cockle straw and refuse of various sorts mixed with a little rye. The small piece of white bread on the left shows the contrast in color.)

RUSSIAN FAMINE OF 1891-92

the most fertile in Russia, but their soil had become impoverished by a bad system of communal land-holding, so that peasants found themselves no better off than before 1861, when they were serfs. Drought, floods, enormous taxes and cruelties by government officers added to their miseries.

The niggardliness of nature would scarcely have caused famine had the exportation of cereals fallen off in proportion to their production, but this was not the case. In 1891, after the exports had been made, there was a deficit of about

eighteen pounds per inhabitant in the usual corn supply. Since supply was never evenly distributed, this deficit meant starvation for many. The Russian peasant's dwelling was at best a forlorn, foul-smelling hovel, where his whole family and often his domestic animals lived huddled in a single room not over fifteen or twenty feet square. When famine came to such homes the results were terrible.



*The steamship Missouri after unloading her relief cargo**

In some districts the annual death-rate increased from thirty-five to two hundred in the thousand. Well had it been could hunger have wrought its fatal results directly instead of invoking those awful means, the typhus, the scurvy and the small-pox, by which it prefers to bring death; but this, like every famine, was made more awful by those accompaniments.

*The accompanying "Russian famine" photographs are published through the courtesy of *The Northwestern Miller*.

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

Russia herself gave generously, though distributing in clumsy ways. It was estimated that to June, 1892, the government of that country spent from seventy-five to one hundred millions of dollars in the famine district. A large portion of this was in loans, administered by the county councils, made directly to the most needy. Taxes were remitted and the poor given public work. The higher classes showed a kindly spirit. Many a one of the old landed proprietors took his villagers back under his care and fed them as in serfdom days. Not a few followed the course of the novelist, Leo Tolstoi, who with his family, carried on a great relief work in Samara, the centre of the famine tract, establishing free eating-rooms and sending out soup and bread, at times feeding as many as twenty thousand a day.

Most of the supplies for Tolstoi's work and much of the provision dispensed in other sections came from the United States of America. No other nation outside of Russia equalled us in this splendid philanthropy. Besides individual gifts sent with characteristic open-handedness, our people despatched four shiploads of supplies, whose value must have reached hundreds of thousands. Large gifts by the Chamber of Commerce gave New York the first place among the contributors. Minnesota proved a close second. Nebraska came third, her donations including two train-loads of corn-meal, which proved very popular in Russia. In all twenty-five States joined in making up the cargoes. Railroads carried the grain to tide-water free of charge, and the necessary telegraphing, storage and other expenses connected with the enterprise were all gratuitous.

By the first of March, 1892, nearly five and a half million pounds of flour and meal had been gathered at New York ready for transportation. A generous donation was made by the American Transport Line, which offered its fine steamer *Missouri* to carry the food across the ocean. This generosity was the more appreciated, as a bill to have the

AMERICAN FOOD FOR RUSSIA



THE FIRST TRAINLOAD OF AMERICAN FOOD ABOUT TO START FROM LIBAU
FOR THE INTERIOR

American Government transport the flour had been defeated in Congress. The *Missouri* sailed from New York March 16th. She arrived at the Russian port of Libau on April 3d. After an enthusiastic welcome from the Russians there, her cargo was sent forward in two hundred and forty-one carloads to thirteen provinces in the heart of the famine-country. Through the careful planning of our Minister to Russia, Hon. Charles Emory Smith, every pound of the American flour was sent to responsible distributors, by whose hands it reached the hungriest poor. Mr. Smith's enlightened advice was followed in selecting all the American relief stores as well as in dispensing them on their arrival in Russia. Many Americans had declared the sending of a flour cargo a foolish display, urging that a generous bill of exchange from America cashable in Russia would do more good in less time. This was an error. The amount of money which the *Missouri's* cargo represented, besides being harder to obtain in the first place, would have been able to purchase much less food in Russia, where famine prices ruled, and would therefore have accomplished far less benefit.

This charity of the American millers, while the most popular and widely known, was by no means America's only relief agency for Russia. Early in the winter the citizens of

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

Philadelphia appointed a relief commission, which worked with such energy that by February 22d the staunch old *Indiana*, a Philadelphia ship, could steam down the Delaware bearing a plentiful and well-chosen relief cargo. This, like the *Missouri's*, consisted chiefly of flour, but it contained various other food supplies and also some lumber. The vessel arrived at Libau March 24th. Directed by our Minister at St. Petersburg, the cargo went straight to the centre of the famine-stricken population. The good effect of these two cargoes was at once apparent. On their arrival in the region about Samara the price of bread-stuffs fell fifty per cent.

By the middle of April a third ship from America, the *Conemaugh*, was ready to sail from Philadelphia. The last week in April the *Tynehead* also sailed, laden with stores gotten together by the energy and perseverance of many women's committees. In this effort Iowa women led, their donations of money, corn and flour representing two-thirds of the value of the cargo. The expense of this steamer's voyage was generously borne by City of Washington people. This expedition also represented the Red Cross Society. In the steamer went a party of women who supplemented America's other relief work by the aid which they rendered the Red Cross agents of Russia itself.

Apart from the immediate good it did, the Russian relief movement had the valuable result of cementing and increasing Russia's friendliness for the United States. America became a household word to Russians in the most remote interior. It was said that even among the poorest there, to whom our country could be only a name, many long "thanked God, the Emperor and the Americans" for the help which came to them amid the famine of 1892.

Our account of the Democratic victory in 1892 must be reserved for the next Chapter. Harrison was then defeated and the Senate won for the Democracy. Reasoning from the

A THIRD "TIDAL WAVE"

fate of Federalism, a prominent Republican senator interpreted his party's repeated overwhelming defeat as heralding its extinction. However natural, the fear was unfounded. The Fifty-second Congress proved unwieldy and discordant, soon being no less unpopular than the Fifty-first. If that was profligate, this was more so, its expenditures reaching \$1,028,000,000. So the new generation of voters had in store for 1894 a third tidal wave, a veritable "*trikumia*," as Æschylus would have said, bearing the Republicans once more into power in Congress. Meantime thoughts of politics were banished, as all eyes were turned toward Chicago, where the matured era since the war was about to be fittingly celebrated by a splendid efflorescence of its prosperity and progress.

CHAPTER VIII

COLUMBUS'S DEED AFTER FOUR CENTURIES

WORLD'S EXPOSITIONS.—IDEAS OF A WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.—ASSURANCE THEREOF.—CHICAGO MADE ITS SITE.—RISE AND GROWTH OF CHICAGO.—JACKSON PARK.—THE WORK OF PREPARING IT.—BUILDING BEGUN.—THE HIVE STILLED OCT. 21, 1892, COLUMBUS DAY.—BOTH HARRISON AND CLEVELAND ABSENT.—VICE-PRESIDENT MORTON DOES THE HONORS.—THE FESTIVITIES.—COLUMBUS ANNIVERSARY IN NEW YORK CITY.—PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1892.—REASONS FOR HARRISON'S DEFEAT.—THE HOMESTEAD STRIKE.—PINKERTON POLICE MOBBED.—ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF H. C. FRICK.—ARRESTS, TRIALS AND COMMENTS.—SENATOR PALMER'S VIEWS.—DESTRUCTIVE FIRE AT TITUSVILLE AND OIL CREEK.—MINING RIOTS IN TENNESSEE.—ISSUES DISCUSSED IN THE CAMPAIGN.—POPULISM GAINS.—SWEEPING NATURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC VICTORY.—PRESIDENT CLEVELAND OPENS THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.—THE SCENE.—OPENING EXERCISES AT THE WOMAN'S BUILDING.—VARIOUS STATE DAYS.—CHICAGO DAY.—SIZE AND SPLENDOR OF THE GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS.—JOHN W. ROOT.—RICHARD M. HUNT.—GENERAL ARRANGEMENT OF GROUNDS.—STATE BUILDINGS.—THE WOODED ISLAND.—INTRAMURAL RAILWAY.—THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE EXPOSITION.—VARIOUS BUILDINGS AND WORKS OF ART.—FIRE IN THE COLD STORAGE BUILDING.—THE FISHERIES BUILDING.—SPECIALLY INTERESTING EXHIBITS.—THE MIDWAY.—THE FERRIS WHEEL.—TRANSPORTATION TO AND FROM THE EXPOSITION.—ATTENDANCE.—ORDER.—ASSASSINATION OF MAYOR CARTER HARRISON.—THE "WHITE CITY" GOES UP IN FLAME.

THE historian of the half-century will turn with pleasure from the battles which he must describe to the victories of peace, whose records are traceable in a stately succession of World's Expositions, transient as breakers, yet each marking a higher tide of well-being than the one before it. The first of these to occur this side the Atlantic enlivened New York in 1853. The second was in Philadelphia in 1876. Memory of both these was well-nigh obliterated by the Centennial

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

Exposition in 1876. In 1883 Boston held a modest International Exposition, contemporaneously with a similar display at Louisville. The New Orleans Cotton Exposition of 1881 may be mentioned in connection with its notable successor of 1884. The World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893 excelled all that had preceded it, whether here or abroad.

The idea of celebrating in this way Columbus's discovery of the New World long anticipated the anniversary year. New York was appealed to as a suitable seat for the enterprise, and entertained the suggestion by subscribing \$5,000,000, whereupon, in 1889, Chicago apprised the country of her wish to house the Fair. St. Louis and Washington appeared as competitors, but the other three cities unanimously set Washington aside. St. Louis showed little enthusiasm. Thirty-five citizens of Chicago, led by a specially active few of their number, organized Chicago's energies with such success that on appearing before Congress she had \$5,000,000 in hand and could promise \$5,000,000 more. The commodiousness of the city as well as its position near the centre of population and commerce told in its favor. Father Knickerbocker was not a little chagrined when his alert and handsome cousin persuaded Congress to allot her the prize. The act organizing the Exposition was approved April 25, 1890. A National Commission was appointed, under the presidency of Hon. T. W. Palmer, of Michigan. An Executive Committee was raised, also a Board of Reference and Control, a Chicago Local Board, a Board of Lady Managers, and a number of standing committees to deal with various branches of the colossal undertaking.

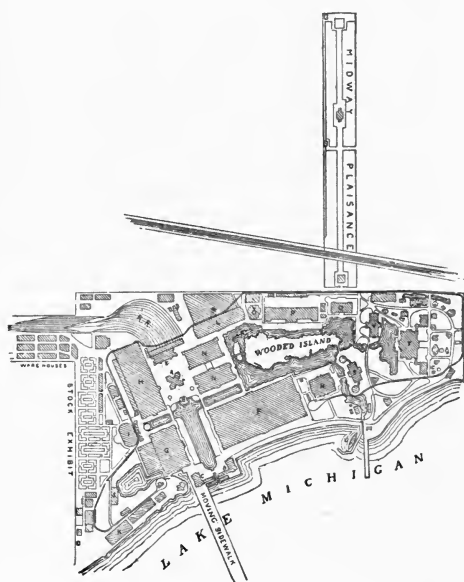
In the seventeenth century the present site of Chicago was a swamp, which fur-traders and missionaries found fatally miasmatic. About 1800 a government engineer, viewing that rank morass traversed by a sluggish stream, pronounced it the only spot on Lake Michigan where a city could *not* be built.

CHICAGO'S TASK AT JACKSON PARK

In 1804 Fort Dearborn was erected here to counteract British influence. In 1812 the fort was demolished by Indians, but in 1816 rebuilt, and though abandoned in 1837, it continued standing till 1871. Around the little fort in 1840 were settled 4,500 people. The number was 30,000 in 1850; 109,000 in 1860; 300,000 in 1870. In 1880 the community embraced 503,185 souls; in 1890 it had 1,099,850. In 1855 the indomitable city illustrated her spirit by pulling herself bodily out of her natal swamp, lifting churches, blocks and houses from eight to ten feet, without pause in general business.

A task similar to this was now again incumbent. The least unavailable site for the Exposition was Jackson Park, in the southeastern part of the city, where one saw at the water's

edge dreary ridges of sand, in the background a swamp with flags, marsh-grass and clumps of willow and wild-oak. Paris had taken nearly three years to prepare for the Exposition of 1889; twenty months were allowed Chicago. The site to be gotten in readiness was four times as large as that for the Paris Exposition. A dozen palaces and ten score other edifices were to be located, raised and adorned; the waters to be gathered in canals, basins and lagoons, and spanned by bridges. Underground



PLAN OF THE WORLD'S FAIR GROUNDS AT JACKSON PARK

A, Administration Building; B, MacMonnies Fountain; C, Casino; D, Music Hall; E, Central Railroad Station; F, Manufactures and Liberal Arts; G, Agriculture Building; H, Machinery Hall; I, Stock Pavilion; J, French Agriculture; K, Forestry Building; L, Transportation Building; M, Mines and Mining Building; N, Electricity Building; O, Choral Building; P, Horticultural Building; Q, Women's Building; R, Government Building; S, Fisheries Building; T, Art Galleries; U, Naval Exhibit; V, Illinois Building.

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conduits had to be provided for electric wires. Endless grading, planting, turfing, paving and road-making must be accomplished. Thousands of workmen of all nationalities and trades, also fire, police, ambulance and hospital service—a superb industrial army—had to be mustered in and controlled. The growth of the colossal structures seemed magical. Sections of an immense arch would silently meet high in air “like shadows flitting across the sky.” Some giant pillar would hang as by a thread a hundred feet above ground till a couple of men appeared aloft and set it in place. Workmen in all sorts of impossible postures and positions were swarming, climbing and gesticulating like Palmer Cox’s Brownies.

On Wednesday, October 21, 1892, the hive was stilled, in honor of Columbus’s immortal deed. Just four hundred years before, for the first time so far as we certainly know or ever shall know, European eyes saw American land. This climacteric event in human history was by Old Style dated October 12th. The addition of nine days to translate it into New Style made the date October 21st. On that day occurred a reception in the Auditorium, 3,500 persons responding to the invitation. President Harrison was unable to attend because of what proved to be the last illness of his wife. Under the circumstances Mr. Cleveland won much praise by considerably declining the invitation sent him. The presidential campaign of 1892 was already in progress, Harrison and Cleveland being matched for the second time. Mr. Cleveland wrote: “I should be very glad to be present on this interesting occasion and thus show my appreciation of its importance, if I could do so solely as an ex-President of the United States. I am sure, however, that this is impossible, and I am unwilling to take a trip which, from beginning to end, despite all efforts on my part, would be regarded as a political tour made by a candidate for the presidency.

“My general aversion to such a trip is overwhelmingly increased in this particular instance, when I recall the afflictive

COLUMBUS DAY

dispensation which detains at the bedside of his sick wife another candidate for the presidency."

The post of honor, Columbus Day, was occupied by Vice-President Morton. On Thursday he reviewed a civic parade three hours long, marshalled by General Miles. On Friday the special exercises in dedication of the buildings and grounds brought to Jackson Park over 250,000 people. High officials reviewed imposing military columns in Washington Park, and proceeded thence to the Manufactures Building on the Exposition grounds. Here a chorus sang the Columbus hymn, by John Knowles Payne, and Bishop Fowler offered prayer. The buildings were then formally handed over to the National Commission and by it to the Nation, through Vice-President Morton. Medals were awarded to artists and architects. Several addresses were made. Beethoven's anthem, and the prayer of benediction by Rev. H. C. McCook, D.D., of Philadelphia, concluded the ceremonies. In the evening were fireworks, among them a hundred fire-balloons armed with rockets.

The Columbus anniversary was observed in many other cities. New York celebrated October 12th. Fifty thousand troops passed the reviewing stand, millions lined the sidewalks. On April 27, 1893, occurred a notable naval parade, embracing thirty-five vessels and more than 10,000 men. The ships were splendid specimens of naval architecture. The Russian *Dimitri Donskoi* was the largest. Its com-



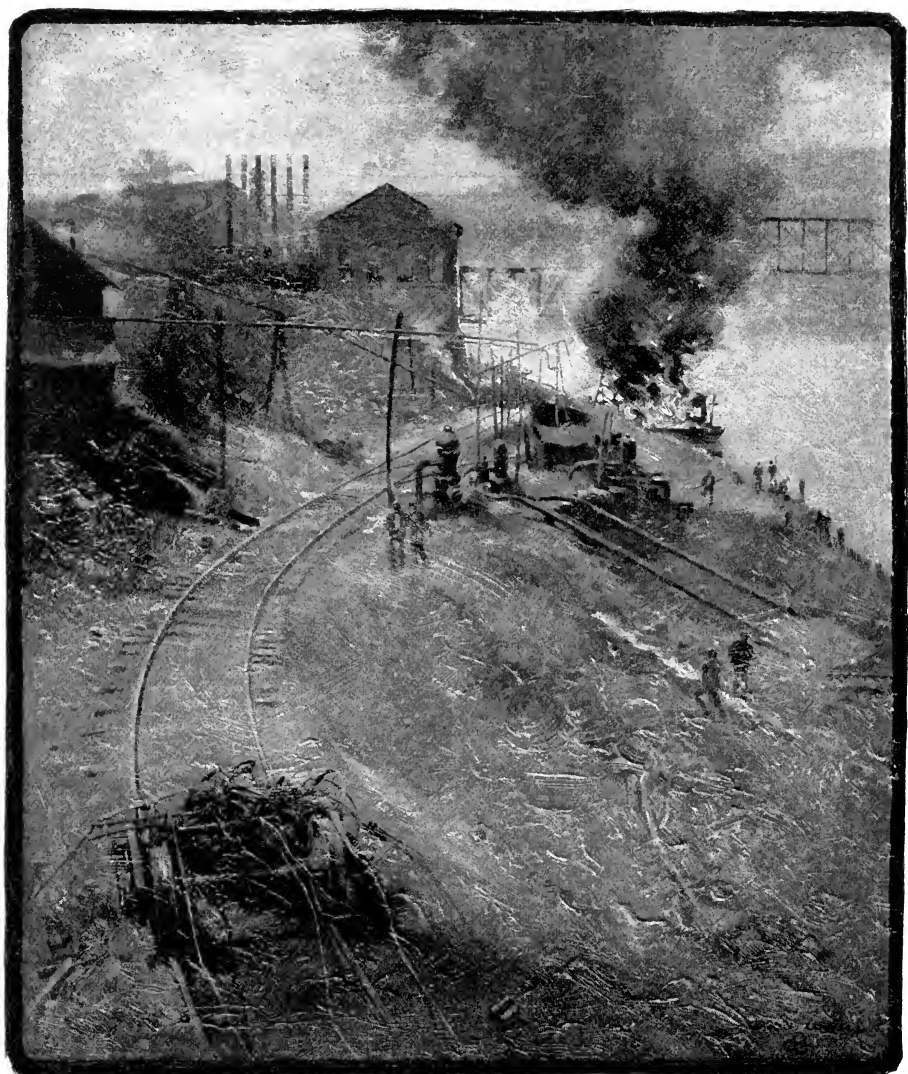
D. H. BURNHAM
Director of Works at World's Fair

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pany numbered 570. Next in size was the British *Blake*. The Argentine *Nueve de Julio* was the swiftest ship present. The *Kaiserin Augusta*, the prognathous *Jean Bart*, of France, and the ill-starred *Reina Regente* were of the fleet. The marines' land muster was even more brilliant than the parade of the 12th. Curious among its features was the "mascot" of the *Tartar's* crew, a goat decked in scarlet silk and gold lace, like an Egyptian or a Siamese deity.

Work was resumed at Chicago October 22d, and pushed day and night, rain or shine, to make ready for the opening, May 1, 1893. When that date arrived, the chief magistracy of the nation had changed hands. The contest for the presidency had been exceptionally good-humored, each candidate being treated by his political opponents with studied respect. "My desire," said Harrison, "is to have a Republican campaign, and not a personal one." In spite of the "snap" New York Convention, which sent Hill delegates to the national Democratic Convention, Cleveland had won the nomination on the first ballot by a trifle over the required two-thirds. For the nonce his enemies were thoroughly subdued. Harrison, too, had overcome Platt, Hill's Republican counterpart in New York. He had also divested himself of Quay in Pennsylvania, and of certain other influential party men much criticised for their political methods. Many such now turned against him, declaring him a craven, willing to benefit by services of any sort, but ready to repudiate his agents so soon as there was outcry against them. Mr. Harrison's personal manner was cold, repelling rather than attracting those with whom he came in contact. The same circumstances connected with the civil service which told against Cleveland in 1888, now told with equal force against Harrison. Though sincerely favoring the Reform and doing much to extend the scope of the Reform Law, Harrison had gone quite as far as his predecessor in "turning the rascals out." Advertisement of the 1888 corruption and the subse-





THE HOMESTEAD STRIKERS BURNING THE BARGES FROM WHICH THE PINKERTON
MEN HAD BEEN TAKEN

Drawn by Orson Lowell from photographs taken during and just after the trouble

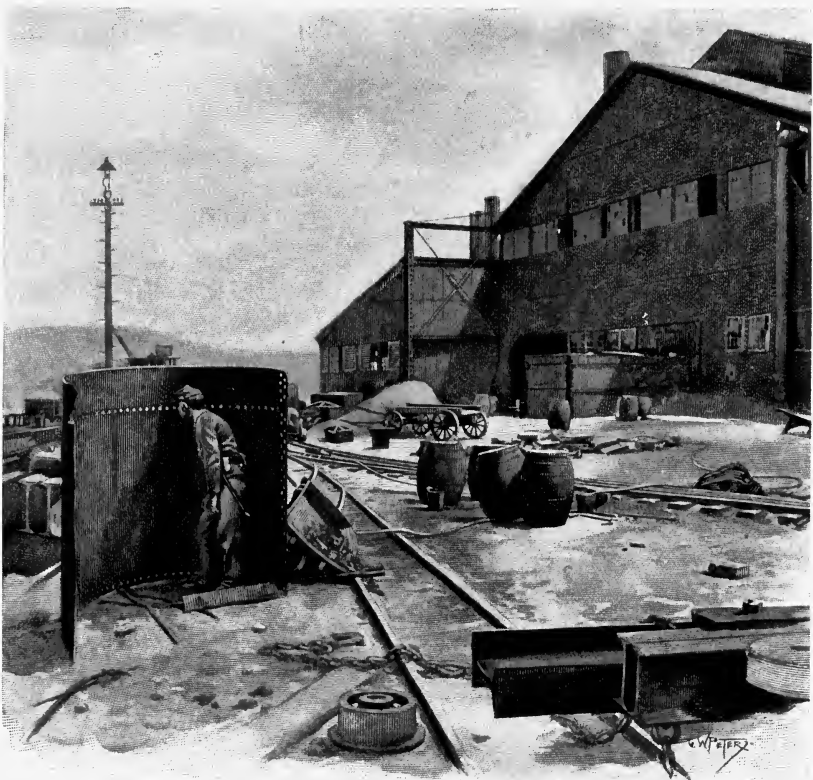
FIERCE CONFLICT AT HOMESTEAD

quent adoption by many States of the "Australian" ballot law to prevent vote-buying and similar evils, rendered the election of 1892 much purer than the preceding one. Vice still lurked about the polls, but it was now more closely watched and more severely reprobated.

Harrison's chances had been lessened by the strike at Homestead, Pa., against the Carnegie Steel Company, which broke out in the summer of 1892, because of a reduction in wages. The Amalgamated Steel and Iron Workers sought to intercede against the reduction, but were refused recognition by the company. H. C. Frick, President of the company, was burned in effigy. A shut-down was ordered. Preparing to start up again with non-union men, the company arranged to introduce a force of Pinkerton detectives to protect these new employés. The Pinkertons came in barges by the river, and when they approached the mills the strikers met them with a volley of bullets, beginning a regular battle which raged two days. The barges, armored inside, were impervious to bullets; therefore on the second day cannons were used, bombarding the boats for hours. Effort was also made to fire them by means of burning oil floated down against them. Seven detectives were killed and twenty or thirty wounded. On the workmen's side eleven were killed. The wretches in the boats again and again hoisted a flag of truce, but it was shot down each time. Later, however, officers of the Amalgamated Association interfered and a committee was sent on board to arrange terms of surrender. Having no alternative, the Pinkerton police agreed to give up their arms and ammunition and retire from the scene. Strikers were to guard them on their departure, and effort was made to do this; yet, as they marched through Homestead streets, the mob element, always on hand at such times, brutally attacked them with clubs, stones and bullets. After cruel delay the Second Brigade of the Pennsylvania National Guard, from Pittsburg, the Third Brigade from Lebanon, and the First Troop of Phila-

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delphia City Cavalry arrived on the 12th, and quickly restored order. Good-will it was harder to reinstate. Several workmen were arrested on charge of murder, which led to counter arrests and charges against Carnegie officers, the Pinkertons and some of their subordinates. During most of the disturbances public sympathy was with the strikers, as the employment by great corporations of armed men, not officers of the law, to defend property, was very unpopular. Sentiment turned the other way when, in the latter part of July, Mr. Frick was brutally shot and stabbed in his own office by Alex-

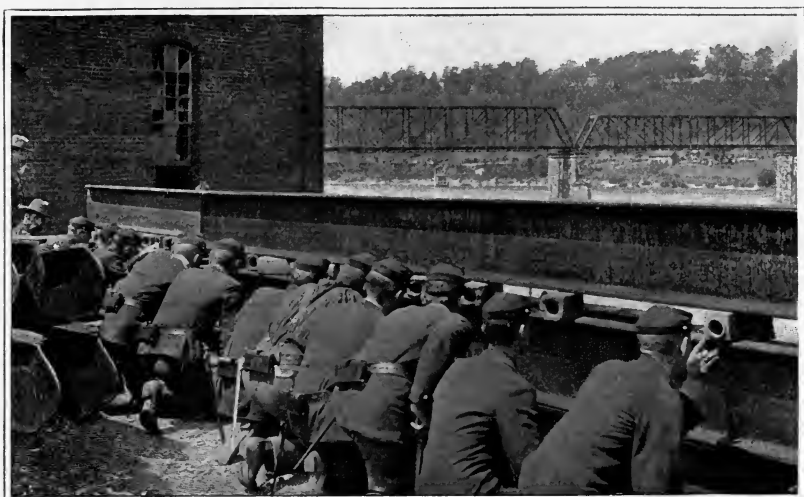


THE CARNEGIE STEEL WORKS

(Showing the shield used by the strikers when firing the cannon and when watching the Pinkerton men; also the chain by which the cannon was anchored, and a wheelbarrow full of bolts and nuts used as ammunition)

Drawn by G. W. Peters from photographs made after the militia had taken possession of the works

INVESTIGATING THE CAUSES OF THE TROUBLE



THE MILITIA BEHIND THE BARRICADE INSIDE THE CARNEGIE WORKS

From a photograph

ander Bergmann, an anarchist from New York. The man fired two shots, one of which passed through Mr. Frick's head, the other through his neck, then grappled with him, inflicting three stab wounds in the chest, the abdomen and the leg. Mr. Frick displayed utmost courage. Though seeming to be fatally wounded, he succeeded in holding his foe until help arrived. After being kept in bed for thirteen days Mr. Frick resumed his active duties, and in a few weeks had wholly regained his strength and color. Disclaim and reprobate this deed as they might, the displaced laborers could not, in the public mind, disconnect it from their own doings. October 11th a Grand Jury returned against thirty-one strikers true bills for high treason; and against several Carnegie officials and their detectives for murder.

This strike drew public attention to the evils and dangers of the private militia system. On May 12th, before the strike, the House of Representatives had ordered its Judiciary Committee to investigate that system. On August 2d the Senate raised a select committee to do the same. Addressing the

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

Senate on July 7th, Senator Palmer, of Illinois, roundly scored the Pinkerton "mercenaries," who had "shed the blood of citizens" in many States. He declared the attempts by the Carnegie Company "to maintain their rights by the aid of this organized force a contempt of the authority of the State of Pennsylvania." He avowed the conviction that the strikers had a right to be in the mill yard and "a right to employment there." "I maintain," said he, "that these laborers,



From Cornell's Building, looking South

THE FLOOD AND FIRE

From photographs

having been in that service, having spent their lives in this particular line of service, have a right to insist upon the permanency of their employment, and they have a right to insist, too, on a reasonable compensation."

The loss of life at Homestead seemed the more sad as following so soon the unique disaster which befell Titusville and Oil City on June 5th. Oil Creek, already high, was swollen by a cloud-burst and had flooded the lower part of Titusville, when several oil-tanks, probably struck by light-

FLOOD AND FIRE AT TITUSVILLE

ning, gave way, the oil flowing out, ignited, over the water, forming an immense sheet of moving flame. Scores of buildings in Titusville were soon on fire, and about a third of the city was destroyed. The flaming flood swept down to Oil City, eighteen miles below, overwhelming or burning such persons and property as could not be gotten out of its track. Nearly two hundred perished, and between \$1,000,000 and \$2,000,000 worth of property was destroyed.



From foot of Monroe Street, looking South, at 11 A.M., Sunday, June 5, 1892

AT TITUSVILLE, PA.

by Mather

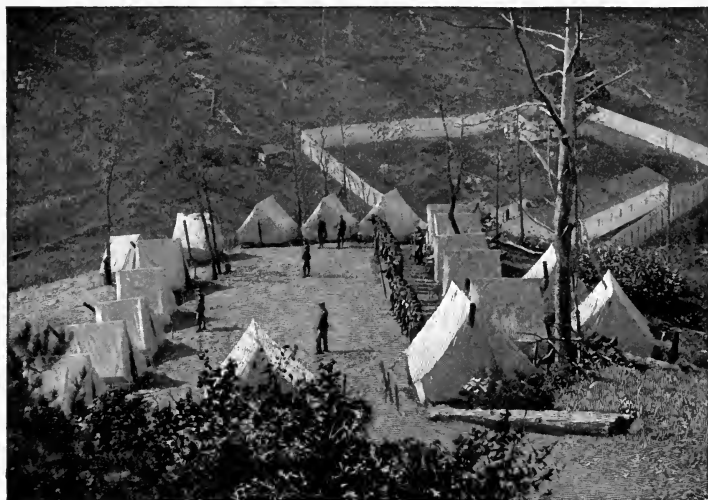
As Democrats saw political capital in the Homestead disturbance, so Republicans pointed to labor troubles in a Democratic State. The bad system of farming out convicts to labor in competition with deserving citizens led, in Tennessee, during 1891 and 1892, to riots and loss of life. For three years previously the State's prisoners had been farmed to a large coal and iron company. This company worked most of them at Tracy City and Inman, subletting the rest, partly to colliers at Coal Creek and Oliver Springs, partly to contractors who

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



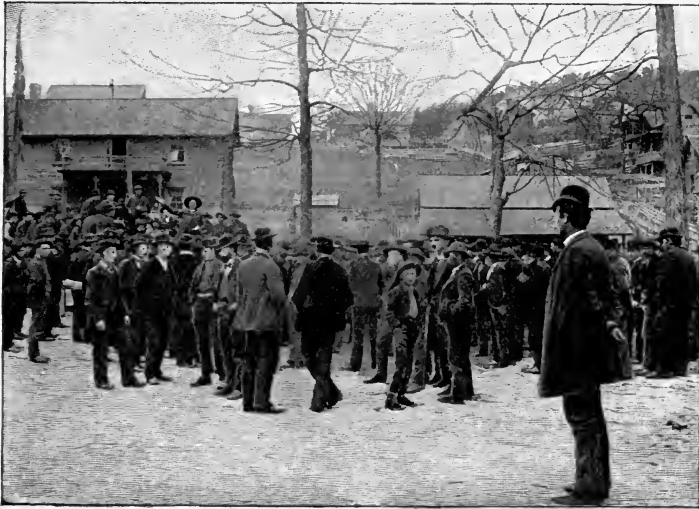
NON-COMBATANTS—A TENNESSEE MOUNTAIN HOME

used them in Nashville making bricks and harness and building sewers. The contractors fed and clothed the convicts and provided guard-houses for such as wrought at a distance from the main prison ; but the State appointed the guards and pretended, through inspectors, to see that the prisoners were de-



THE CONVICT STOCKADE AND MILITARY CAMP AT OLIVER SPRINGS
From a photograph

CONVICT-LABOR TROUBLES IN TENNESSEE



DR. BETTS, "THE COWBOY PREACHER," INCITING THE MINERS TO
ATTACK FORT ANDERSON

From a photograph taken at The Grove, between Briceville and Coal Creek

cently used. All went well till work grew slack. Then many free miners had to go on short time, though the convicts still wrought full time. August 13, 1892, miners attacked Tracy City and removed the convicts, of whom several escaped. This was repeated at Inman and Oliver Springs. The process was easy, since, popular sympathy favoring the miners so that a sheriff could not muster a posse, the authorities made little effort to defend the contract gangs. At Coal Creek, however, the rioters were resisted by the garrison, consisting of Colonel Anderson with a hundred and fifty men. Being beaten, the mob raised a flag of truce, answering which in person Colonel Anderson fell into their power, and was commanded, on threat of death, to order a surrender. He refused. Meantime the militia, which had been called out, arrived and briskly attacked the rioters, killing several, routing the residue and rescuing Colonel Anderson. Five hundred miners were arrested and all disturbance soon ended.

The Force Bill was remembered in the presidential cam-

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

paing of 1892, in many parts of the land where, but for it, its authors might now have hoped for gains. They made no effort to raise the corpse to life, but left it "unwept, unhonored and unsung" where it fell two years before. Veteran Democrats suspected a piece of shrewd shamming, and circled the remains, crying, "No Force Bill! No Negro Domination!" till sure that it was a case of death. While not attacking the Dependent Pensions Act, for which they were too shrewd, the Democrats may have gained somewhat by their loud demands for honesty in administering this. The other expenditures of the Fifty-first Congress they placed under searching review, with scant results as to details, though the aggregate sum impressed the public unfavorably.

The Republicans' centre in the battle was McKinley Protection, but many of their best fighting men thought that McKinley had led them too far to the front and wished to fall back upon "reciprocity" as a stronger position. Thus there was wavering in the ranks. The tin schedule of the new tariff was lauded as sure to transfer the tin industry from Wales to this country. "Free sugar" was also made prominent. Upon the tariff question the Democrats wavered too. Their Convention had displaced a resolution squinting toward protection, and put in the platform a plain tariff-for-revenue plank. Most of their Western speakers took the stump, crying: "Republican protection is a fraud!" and denouncing the McKinley Act as the "culminating atrocity of class legislation." Republicans charged that the Democracy stood committed to "British Free Trade." There was some justice in the statement, yet Cleveland's letter of acceptance was not in this tone. "We wage," said he, "no exterminating warfare against American industries." And in all the Eastern centres Democratic orators and papers declined to attack the principle of protection, only urging that manufacturing interests would be advanced by "freer raw materials."

The Populists, heirs of the Grangers and Farmers'

CLEVELAND ELECTED AGAIN

Alliance, scored a triumph now. In Colorado, Idaho, Kansas and Wyoming the Democrats voted for Weaver, the Populist candidate. In North Dakota, Nevada, Minnesota and Oregon also there was a partial Democratic-Populist fusion. In those States, subtracting Oregon and Minnesota, Weaver obtained a majority. In Louisiana and Alabama, on the contrary, it was Republicans who fused with Populists. The Tillman movement in South Carolina, nominally Democratic, was akin to Populism, but was complicated with the color question and later with novel liquor legislation. In its essence it was a revolt of the ordinary white population from the traditional dominance of the aristocracy. In Alabama a similar movement, led by Reuben F. Kolb, was defeated, fraudulently, as he thought, by vicious manipulation of votes in the Black Belt. Spite of these diversions the election was a second tidal wave in favor of the democracy. Of the total 444 votes in the electoral college Cleveland received 277, Harrison 145, and Weaver 22—giving Cleveland a plurality of 132. Cleveland received 5,556,000 votes, Harrison 5,175,000 and Weaver something over a million. The Senate held forty-four Democrats, thirty-seven Republicans and four Populists; the House two hundred and sixteen Democrats, one hundred and twenty-five Republicans and eleven Populists.

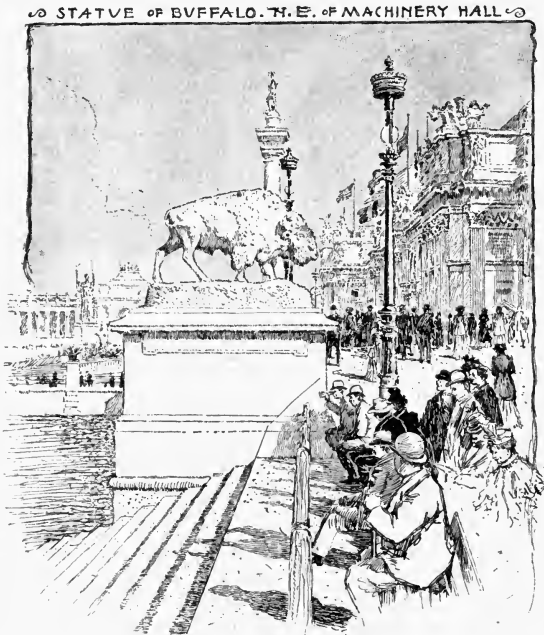
Mr. Cleveland's first prominent appearance before the public after his inauguration was upon the Opening Day of the Columbian Exposition, May 1, 1893. It was a legal holiday. In spite of the mist, rain and mud of its early hours, patient multitudes waited outside for the gates of Jackson Park to open. The inevitable procession, dramatically welcomed by the uncouth aliens of the Midway Plaisance, stopped at the temporary platform in front of the Administration Building, where, among many others, sat President Cleveland side by side with Columbus's descendant, the Duke of Veragua. Inspiring music and poetry led up to the climax of the occasion. After recounting the steps by which the Expo-

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

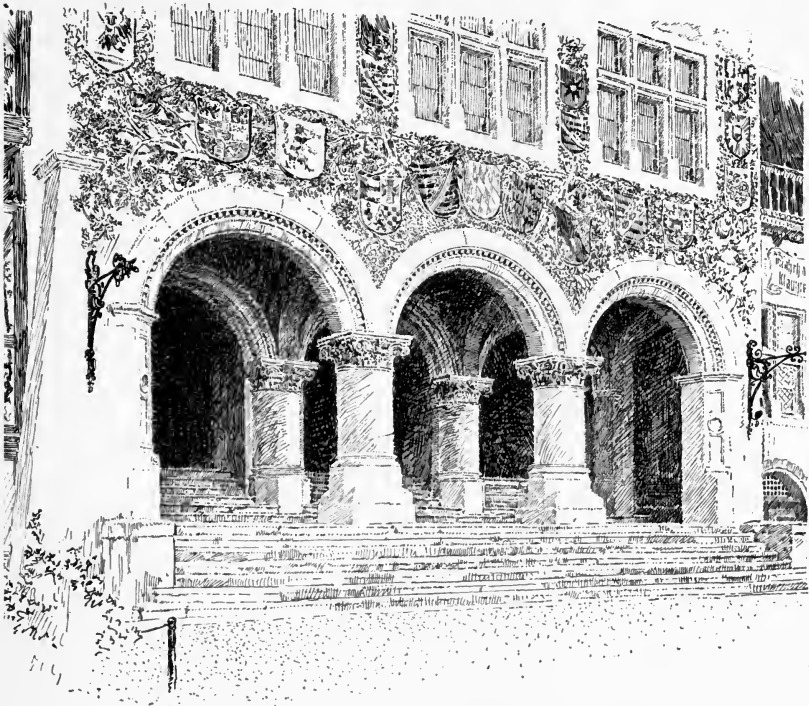
sition had originated, the Director-General said: "It only remains for you, Mr. President, if, in your opinion the Exposition here presented is commensurate in dignity with what the world should expect of our great country, to direct that it shall be opened to the public; and when you touch this magic key the ponderous machinery will start in its revolutions and the activity of the Exposition will begin."

"I am here," responded Mr. Cleveland, "to join my fellow-citizens in the congratulations which befit the occasion. Surrounded by the stupendous results of American enterprise and activity, and in view of the magnificent evidences of American skill and intelligence, we need not fear that these congratulations will be exaggerated. We stand to-day in the presence of the oldest nations of the world, and point to the great achievements we here exhibit, asking no allowance on the score of youth. It is an exalted mission in which we and our guests from other lands are engaged as we co-operate in the

inauguration of an enterprise devoted to human enlightenment; and in the undertaking we here enter upon we exemplify in the noblest sense the brotherhood of nations. Let us hold fast to the meaning that underlies this ceremony, and let us not lose the impressiveness of this moment. As by a touch the machinery that gives life to this vast exposition



OPENING OF THE EXPOSITION



*THE ENTRANCE TO THE GERMAN BUILDING**

is now set in motion, so at the same instant let our hopes and aspirations awaken forces which in all times to come shall influence the welfare, the dignity and the freedom of mankind."

"As the President touched the button there arose from all sides a wild outburst of sound, the people and orchestra uniting in the triumphant strains of Handel's 'Hallelujah Chorus,' while the wheels of the great Allis engine in the Machinery Hall began to revolve and the electric fountains in the lagoons to play. Torrents of water gushed from the great MacMonnies fountain, the artillery thundered salutes and the chimes of the Factories Hall and German Building rang merry peals, while conspicuous in the Court of Honor

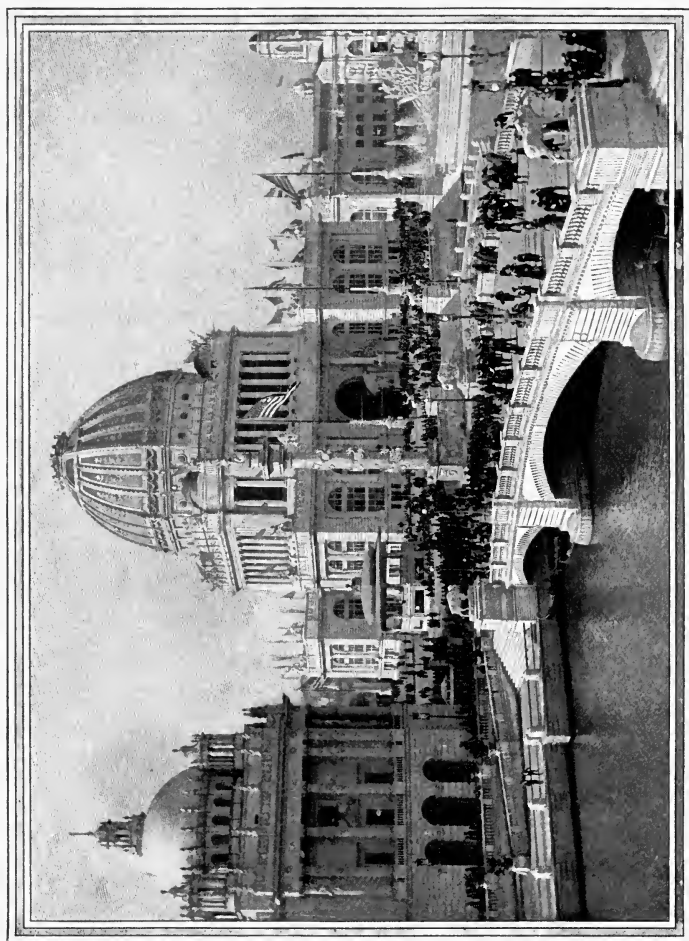
*The World's Fair views in this chapter are, with two exceptions, from photographs by T. S. Johnson.

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

the golden beauty of the 'Republic' stood discovered. At the same moment the flags in front of the platform parted, revealing the gilded models of the Columbian caravels. The flags of all nations were simultaneously unfurled on all the buildings of the Exhibition. The roof of the Factories Building became gorgeous with red gonfalons, while the Agricultural Building was dressed in ensigns of orange and white. It was a magnificent transformation scene. Amid all, the cannon continued to boom and the people to cheer, while the band played the national anthem."

At the Woman's Building the opening exercises included addresses by Mrs. Potter Palmer, the Duchess of Veragua for Spain, the Countess di Brazza for Italy, Mrs. Bedford Fenwick for England, the Duchess of Aberdeen for Scotland-Ireland, and the Princess Schechoffsky for Russia. Mrs. Potter Palmer drove home the nail which completed the Woman's Building. It was of gold, silver and copper, with a Montana sapphire set in the shield attached to the nail near the head.

Many of the festal days which followed were chosen by States and nations for their own in particular. Every State had its day, which it brightened with music and pageantry, not omitting the eloquence and hospitality suited to such occasions. On her day California dispensed freely to all comers of her abundant fruit. New York did not sulk over her loss of the opportunity to entertain the Fair, but vigorously and with splendid success celebrated the day set apart for her. "The great day of the feast" was "Chicago Day," October 9th, the twenty-second anniversary of the awful fire. All the night before houseless thousands had sheltered themselves in doorways and under the elevated railroad, while 15,000 awaited at the gates the opening of the grounds. During the day 716,881 persons paid their way into the grounds, the largest number for any one day, exceeding the maximum at Philadelphia—217,526, and that at Paris in 1889—397,150. Orig-

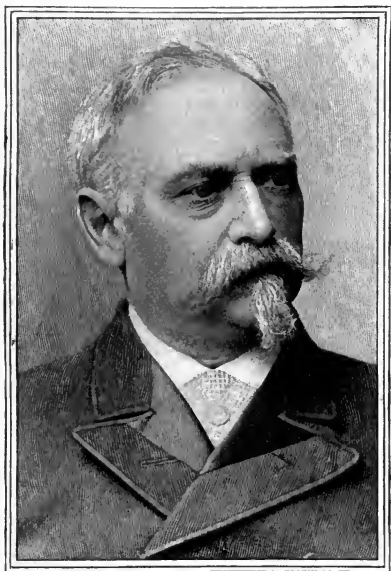


THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING SEEN FROM THE AGRICULTURAL BUILDING

CHICAGO'S ORIGINAL NAMERS PRESENT

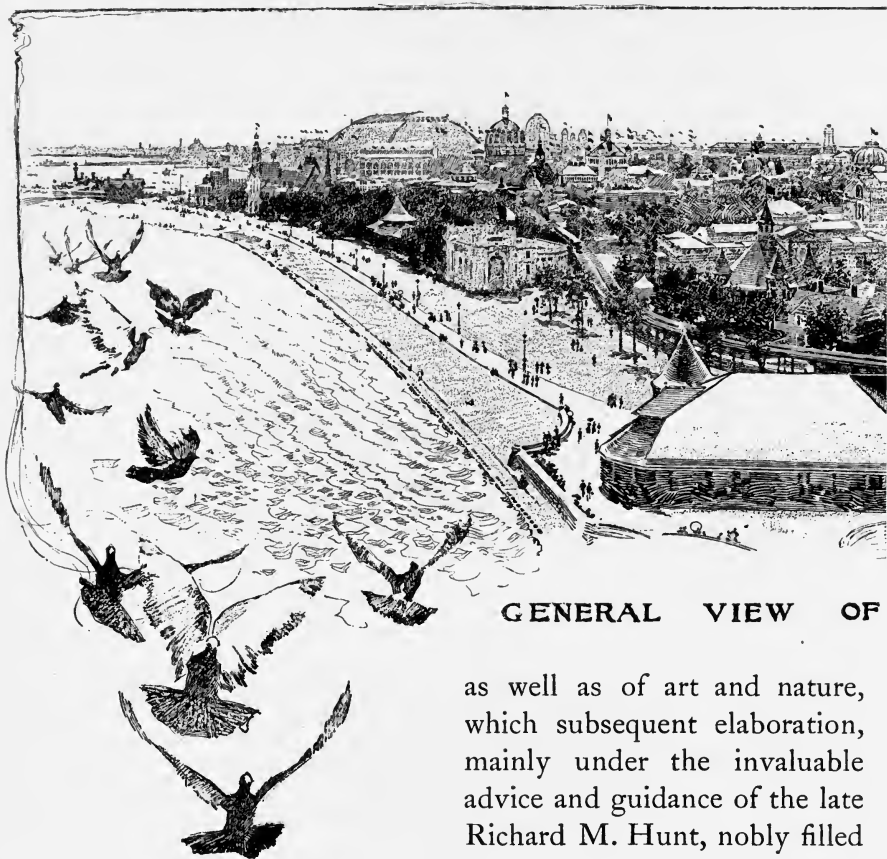
inal and interesting exercises marked the hours. Two aged Pottawottomi chiefs, pathetic types of the vanished red man, who stood side by side near the Columbian Bell, received much homage. One was in white man's attire, the other in feathered head-dress and breeching and moccasins of beaded buckskin, all supplemented by a liberal paint coat of many colors. The white man's proselyte was Simon Po-ka-gon, whose father, Leopold, once owned the site of Chicago; the unconventionalized warrior was Chief John Young, son of a chief of the same name. Leopold gave the inland metropolis a local habitation, John Young, Sr., gave her a name, "Chicago"—meaning "thunder," according to some; "onion," in the belief of others, and "skunk's home," as maintained by a third school of interpreters. Fireworks, the finest ever seen, lighted up the evening. Some of the designs were, "Old Fort Dearborn," "Chicago Welcoming the World," "Old Glory" and "Niagara Falls." Four scenes, each covering 14,000 square feet, illustrated the burning of the city in 1871. Conspicuous among the representations was Mrs. O'Leary's incendiary cow, said to have started the fire by kicking over a lamp.

In magnitude and splendor the grounds and buildings constituting the White City far surpassed any ever before laid out for Exposition purposes. The original sketch of the grounds was drawn with pencil on brown paper by the late Mr. John W. Root. It projected an effective contrast of land and water



RICHARD M. HUNT
Architect of Administration Building.

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

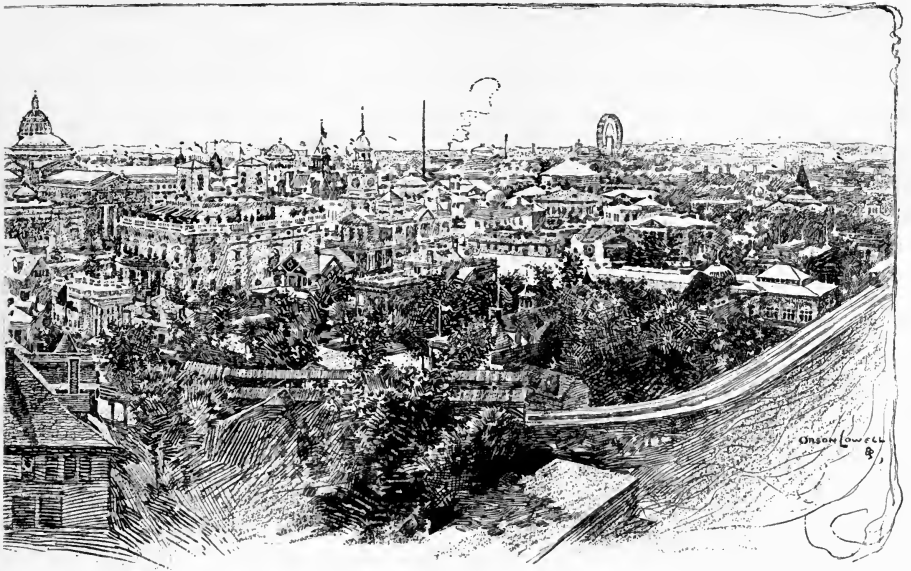


GENERAL VIEW OF

as well as of art and nature, which subsequent elaboration, mainly under the invaluable advice and guidance of the late Richard M. Hunt, nobly filled out. The North Pond com-

municated with the lake by the North Inlet and with the Grand Basin by the North Canal, opposite which was the South Canal. South of the Basin was South Inlet, leading from Lake Michigan into South Pond. In one corner was the isolated Northwest Pond. Approaching the park by water one landed at a long pier, on which was the moving sidewalk—the Power House, where alone steam-power was allowed, standing to the south. At another pier was moored the *facsimile* battleship *Illinois*. Almost at the lips of her cannon the nations of the world had tabernacled, England nearest. Beyond these, at the north was the neighborhood of States,

STATE BUILDINGS AND WOODED ISLAND

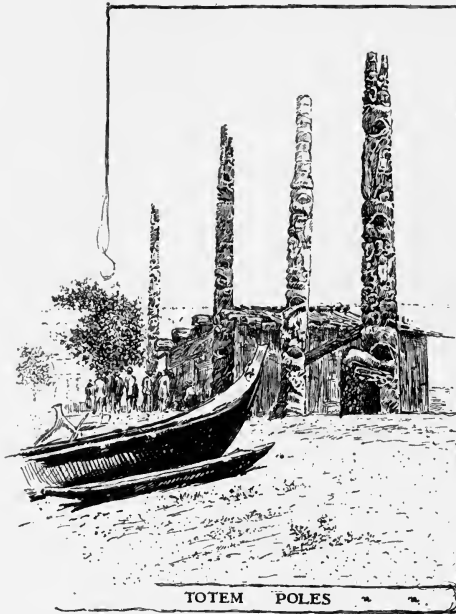


THE WORLD'S FAIR GROUNDS

each represented by a house. Some of the houses were castles, some were cottages. Some provided only comforts, others held displays. Not one but offered points of great interest. Iowa, Washington, California and Illinois advertised their prospects; Florida, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York and Massachusetts their history. Mutual visits among these families and mutual admiration were the order of each day.

Upon the Wooded Island, under the protectorate of Horticultural Hall, consummate art had made a refuge for wild nature. Stunted trees were masked by shrubbery and the water planted with aquatic vegetation. Nearly every variety of American tree and shrub was represented upon these acres. Here as well as elsewhere landscape gardeners had created effective backgrounds of willows and of flowers, and stretches of lawn set off by statuary and fountains. Distances were too great to be traversed always on foot, but other modes of locomotion were ample. A good if somewhat noisy

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

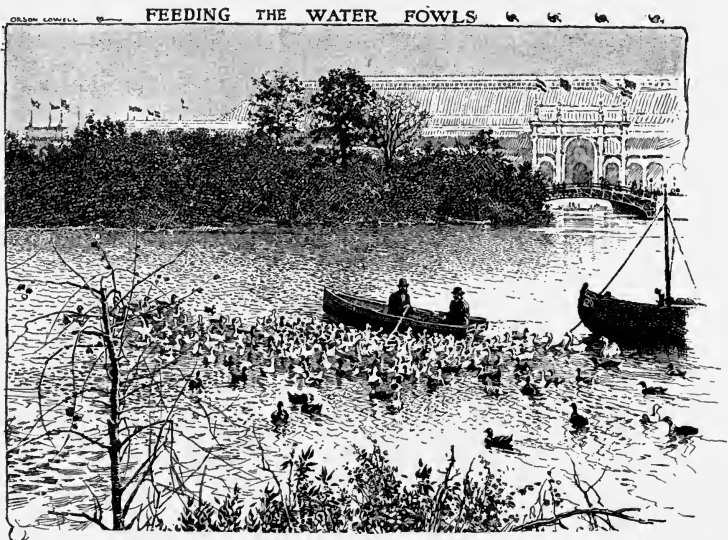


TOTEM POLES

servant was the Intramural Railway, which conducted one by the rear of the grounds, the back way, as it were, from one end of the enclosure to the other. But the beauty of the place more impressed you if you boarded a gondola or an electric launch, sweeping under arches, around islands, and past balustrades, terraces and flowered lawns. Easy transit through the larger buildings, or from one to

another, was furnished by wheeled chairs.

Notwithstanding the charge of materialism so often brought against America, and against Chicago in particular,



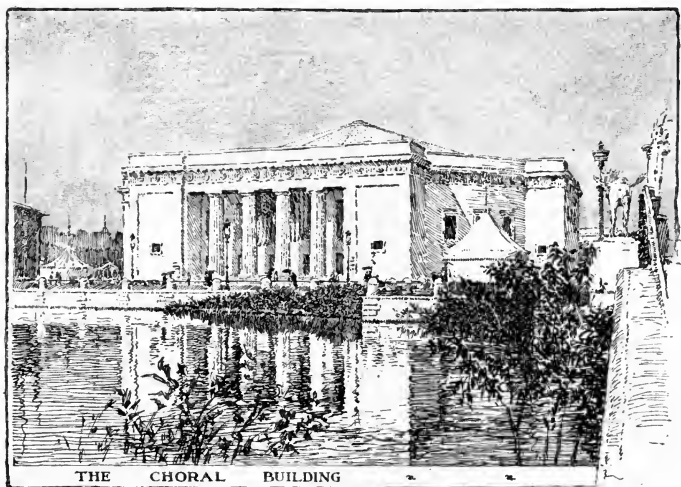
FEEDING THE WATER FOWLS

PUBLIC SPIRIT MANIFESTED

foreigners visiting the Fair found that we had not provided mere utilitarian housings for the exhibits. We came near falling into another fault, that of vain lavishness. Financial backers of the undertaking did not withhold or stint their contributions, while they calculated dividends likely to accrue. Others, executing the work, were

equally public-spirited. The architects especially wrought together with mutual interest and affection, free from selfish

FROM THE ART BUILDING STEPS & WEST



THE CHORAL BUILDING

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

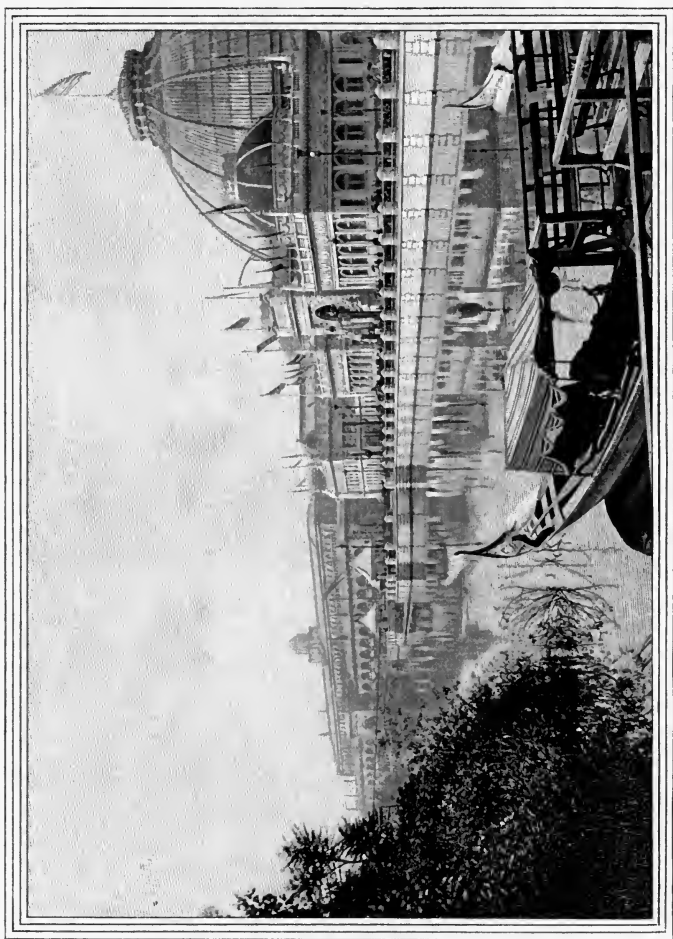
rivalry. They sacrificed pecuniary considerations to love of art, working with a zeal which money alone could never have called forth. Great as was the expenditure, it would have been inadequate to the results had it not been possible to employ a material at once cheap, sufficiently durable, and very ductile in architects' hands. This was a mixture of plaster of Paris with certain fibres, commonly known as "staff." "It permitted the architects to indulge in an architectural spree." It made possible "a group of buildings which might have been a vision of an ancient monarch, but which no autocrat and no government could have carried out in permanent form." It allowed modern masters to reproduce "the best details of ancient architecture—to erect temples, colonnades, towers and domes of surpassing beauty and noble proportions—making an object lesson of practical educational value equal to its impressive character."

Near the centre of the grounds was the Government Building, with a ready-made, conventional look, out of keeping with the other architecture. Critics declared it the only discordant note in the symphony, but the Illinois Building, conspicuously situated, topped by a dome looking like a

cartridge upright upon a box, was not exactly pleasing, at least in comparison with edifices near by. Looking away from it across the North Pond, one saw the Art Palace, of pure Ionic style, perfectly proportioned, restful to view, contesting with the Administration Building the architectural laurels of the Fair. To the south of the Illinois Building rose the Woman's Building, and next Horticultural Hall, with dome high enough to shelter the tallest palms. So overrun was this depart-



W. L. B. JENNEY
Architect of the Horticultural Building



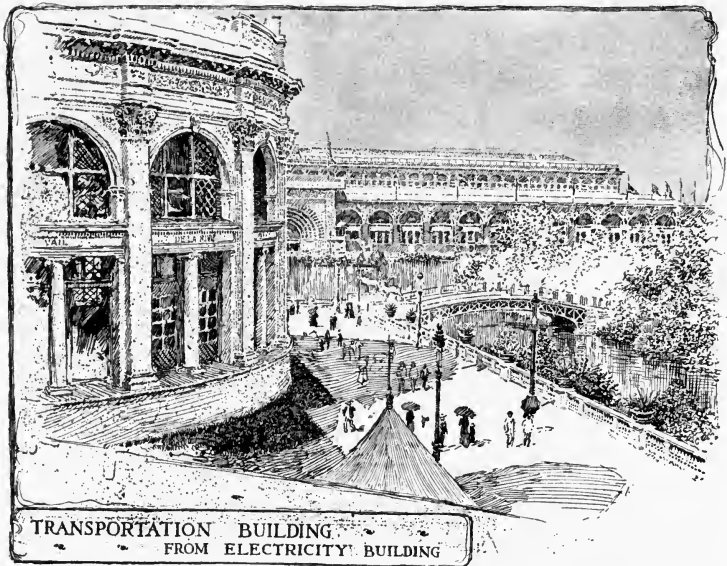
THE HORTICULTURAL AND TRANSPORTATION BUILDINGS VIEWED FROM THE LAGOON

THE COURT OF HONOR

ment with applications that only the choicest exhibits could be accepted. Among these Australia, land of anomalies, planted her giant tree-fern and giant stag-horn fern. Here experimenting was carried on in a cave illuminated only by electricity, for the purpose of determining whether plants can be made to thrive under such light alone. In connection with Horticultural Hall may be mentioned the rustic Forestry Building. Supreme architectural victory was realized in the fact that even the Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building, almost awful in its proportions, did not tyrannize over its neighbors. This structure was thrice the size of St. Peter's at Rome, and would easily have roofed the Vendome Column. It was severely classical, with a long perspective of arches, broken only at the corners and in the centre by portals fit to immortalize Alexander's triumphs.

The name of the "Court of Honor" awoke in one a throb of anticipation before seeing its chaste beauty, which must to his dying day haunt the memory of every visitor who beheld it. Its majestic unity was mainly due to the genius of R. M. Hunt, already mentioned for his masterly agency in rendering the Fair so picturesque and so perfect as an architectural *ensemble*. Down the Grand Basin you looked upon the golden statue of the Republic, with its noble proportions, beyond it the peristyle, a forest of columns surmounted by the Columbian quadriga. On the right hand stood the Agricultural Building, upon whose summit the "Diana" of Augustus St. Gaudens had alighted. To the left stood the enormous Hall of Manufactures just mentioned. Looking from the peristyle the eye met the Administration Building, admired by critics and laymen alike. Its architect was Mr. Hunt. He was a devotee of the French school, and here presented to the American people its best exemplification. The dome resembled that of the Hotel des Invalides in Paris. In this Court originality was happily sacrificed to harmony. It was well that specimens of the best architecture should be set before the

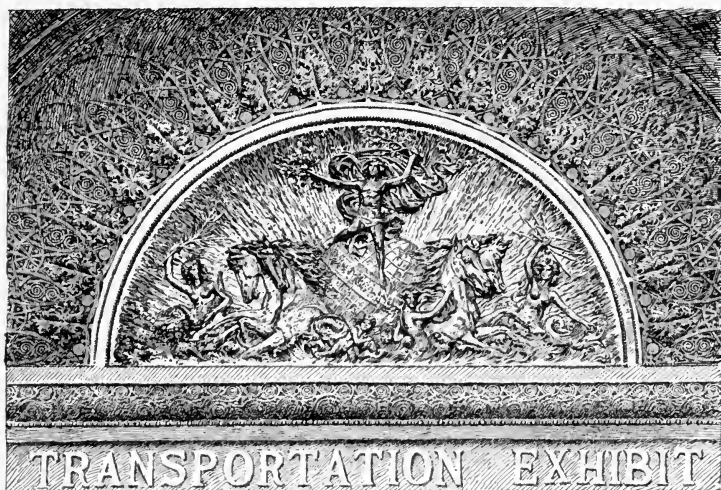
THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



public, rather than novel departures from standard types ; for the Fair not only showed the vast growth of art in America since 1876, but served as an educator in the canons of taste. The American art displayed at the Fair disappointed Europe by imitating hers so well. Yet it was clear that we were not mere imitators.

One of the most unique conceptions presented at the Fair was that of the Cold Storage Building, just south of the Sixty-fourth Street entrance, where a hundred tons of ice to supply the Exposition were daily made. Its architecture was handsome and suitable ; the walls unbroken save on the ground floor, where the large, tunnel-like entrance was flanked by a row of neat windows, and on the fifth floor, which was designed for an ice skating rink. Four corner towers relieved the steeple effect of a fifth one in the centre, which resembled the tower on Madison Square Garden in New York City. This central pinnacle rose sheer to the dizzy height of 225 feet. Through it went the smoke-stack. The cheering coolness of this building was destined not to

BURNING OF COLD STORAGE BUILDING



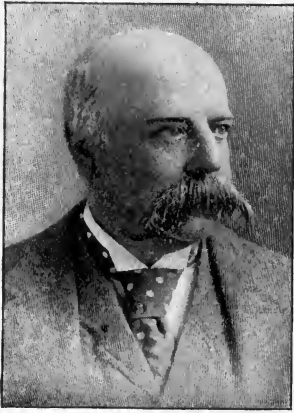
A Detail of the Golden Doorway at the Entrance to the Transportation Building

last. Early in the afternoon of July 10th its occupants were startled by the cry of "Fire!" Flames had been discovered at the top of the central tower, which had caught from the smoke-stack, owing, apparently, to neglect of the architect's precautions and of the fire marshal's repeated warnings. Delaying his departure till he had provided against explosion, the brave engineer barely saved his life. Before his escape, the firemen were on hand and a band of sixteen at once climbed to the balcony near the blazing summit. At this juncture, suddenly, to the horror of all, fire burst from the lower part of the tower. The rope and hose were burnt in two, precipitating a number in their attempt to slide back to the roof. Others leaped recklessly from the colossal torch. In less than two minutes, it seemed, the whole pyre was swathed in flames, and, as it top-



*LOUIS H. SULLIVAN
Architect of the Transportation Building*

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



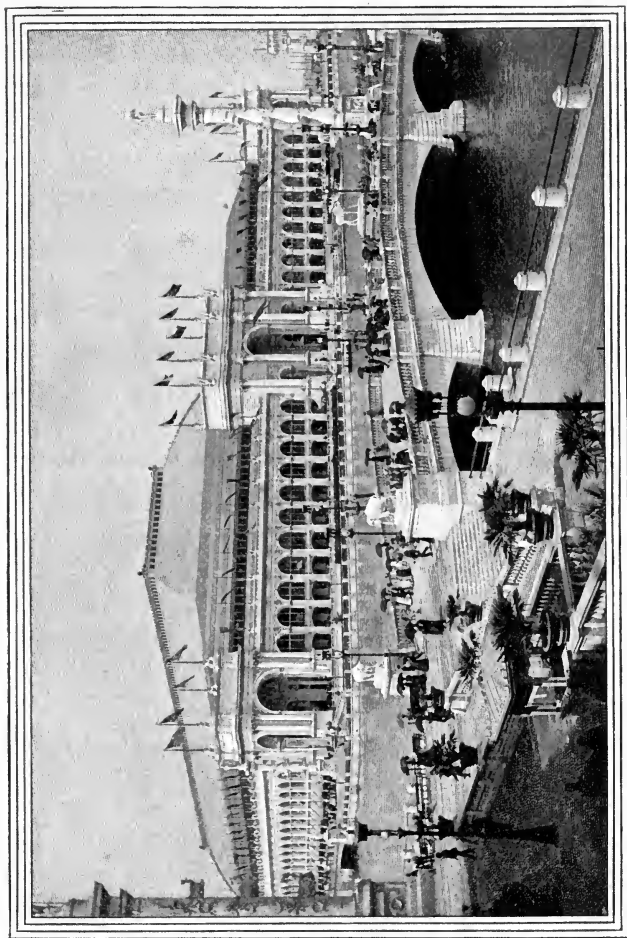
GEORGE B. POST
*Architect of Manufactures and Liberal
Arts Building*

pled, the last wretched form was seen to poise and plunge with it into the now blazing abyss.

Another unique fabric stood by the waters of the North Pond. It was the Fisheries Building, having a curved arcade at each end, leading to a circular aquarium. Visitors were agreeably startled at seeing the pillars twined with aquatic creatures—frogs, tortoises, eels and star-fish. The capitals, similarly, were architectural puns—here a fantastic mass of marine life, there a lobster-pot.

Even the balustrades were supported by small fishy caryatids. The Electricity and Transportation Buildings were equally original, each in its way, the former with sky-line broken as if traced by lightning, the latter with its forcefulness of contour and rich archaic decoration. The Mining Building, hard by the Electricity Building, suggested monumental strength, as the Transportation Building intimated ruthless force. Machinery Hall, with its shapely dome, colonnade and arcades, was much admired.

Amid a muster of earth's choicest rarities, a multitude of wonders stupefying in its vastness, to specify individual marvels as pre-eminent seemed wild. One feature would specially impress you, another your friend. Our Government's display deserved and received incessant attention. The State Department gave to the light for the moment some rich treasures from its archives. The War Office exhibit showed our superiority in heavy ordnance and ammunition, and at the same time our failure to rival Europe in small-arms. Among the cannon was the famous Long Tom, formerly aboard the privateer *General Armstrong*, which kept at bay a British squadron till sunk to avoid capture by a line-of-battle ship. A



THE MANUFACTURES AND LIBERAL ARTS BUILDING, SEEN FROM THE SOUTHWEST

TRANSPORTATION EXHIBITS

thrilling Arctic tableau represented Major Greely greeting the brave Lieutenant Lockwood on his return from "farthest North." A first-class post-office was operated on the grounds. A combination postal-car, sixty feet in length, manned by the most expert sorters and operators, interested vast crowds. Close by was an ancient mail-coach, once actually captured by Indians, with effigies of the pony express, formerly so familiar on the Western plains, of a mail-sledge drawn by dogs, and of a mail carrier mounted on a bicycle. Models of a quaint little Mississippi mail steamer and of the modern steamer Paris stood side by side. Weapons, stuffed birds, and bottled reptiles from the dead-letter office were displayed.

A rich assemblage of jewelry and gems adorned a section of the Fair, one cabinet being rightly styled "the million-dollar-case." Self-winding and self-regulating clocks were a feature. So were the transportation exhibits. Locomotives of all styles and ages were presented, from Sir Isaac Newton's, of 1680, based on an invention of 130 B.C., to the famous "999." Some fully equipped railroad trains were shown. One had bath-room, barber-shop, writing-desk and library—accommodations for railway travel then novel, though now familiar.

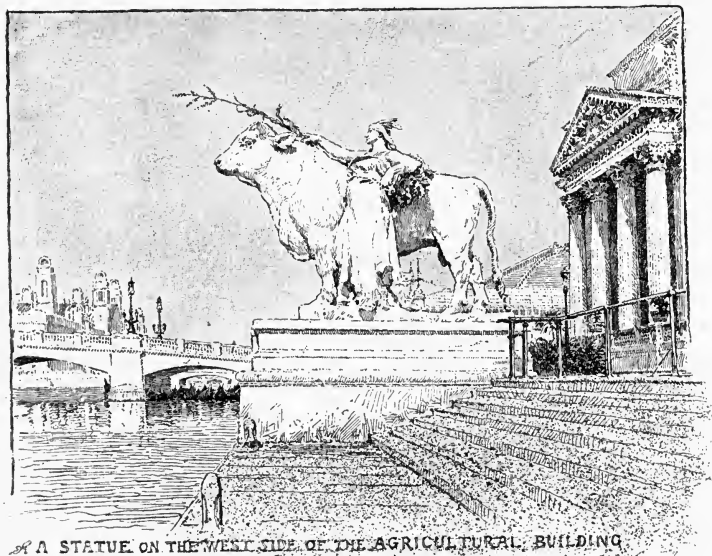
THE CARAVELS IN FRONT OF THE CASINO BUILDING



THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

The apartment sleeping-car and the observation-car were then quite new. Another train was vestibuled the entire width of the cars, and from the tender to the rear lights. Many such are now seen, improved, since, by "burglar-proof" doors to the cars. The locomotive "Queen Empress," of the London & Northwestern line, was exhibited, heading a train of English railway carriages beautifully complete to the uttermost detail. The caravels *Santa Maria*, *Niña* and *Pinta* were reproduced at the Spanish port where the original craft had been built, and sent by water thence, manned by Spaniards, to the American shore, and, without portage, to the White City's waterfront.

From the serious side of the Fair one turned for relaxation to the Midway Plaisance. The Midway was the delightful Limbo of the Exposition. Here were realistic bits of Dahomey, Samoa, the far Orient, the Levant, the frozen North, Europe, Ireland. The "natives" felt perfectly at home, even to marrying and giving in marriage, one infatuated Kabyle going so far as to attempt to steal a bride, according



A STATUE ON THE WEST SIDE OF THE AGRICULTURAL BUILDING

THE MIDWAY PLAISANCE

to tribal custom. His romance terminated in a police station. The Plaisance was a library of human documents. Not the least interesting was "far-away Moses," immortalized by Mark Twain. In spite of frowning battlements and formidable watchmen with lanterns and battle-axes, hordes besieged and overran old Vienna. On this populous avenue were the Libby glass works, artificers of the Infanta's glass dress, the ice-railway, the Hagenbeck animal show of equestrian lions and rope-walking bears, the ostrich farm, theatres, and bazaars galore. There abode all "fakirs," making short work of your small change, while they delighted you with the ingenuity and despatch of the operation. Immensely popular was Cairo Street, travelled by 2,250,000 visitors. Hagenbeck entertained more than 2,000,000. Between 650,000 and 800,000 entered the villages of Java, Germany and Vienna. Lady Aberdeen's Irish village admitted more than 550,000.

Those of weak nerves shunned the chief feature of the Midway,



CHARLES F. McKIM,
of McKim, Mead & White,
Architects of the Agricultural Building



From a photograph by Rau

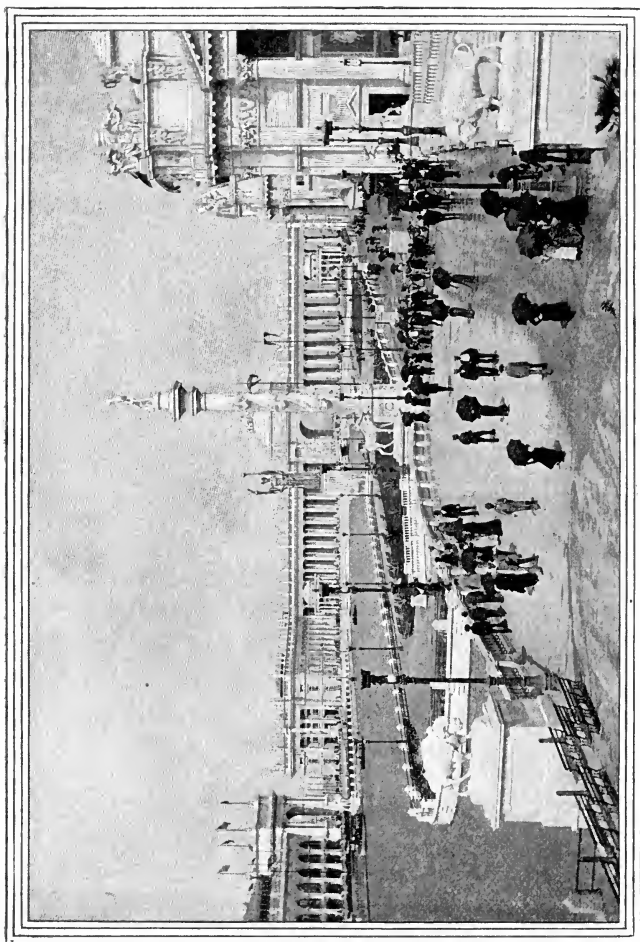
THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



Detail, Main Entrance of Horticultural Building

the Ferris Wheel, the most novel mechanism in existence. It is said that at a banquet, more than a year before the opening day, the director, while praising the architects, complained that the engineers of this country had suggested for the Fair nothing original like the Eiffel Tower at Paris. Mr. George W. G. Ferris, of Pittsburg, took this as a reflection on his calling, and excogitated his remarkable invention, literally in an hour, over a mutton-chop. In principle it resembled the Eiffel tower. The tower was, in effect, a cantilever bridge set on end; the wheel was such a bridge bent around a pair of Brob-dignagian bicycle wheels. These were geared on an axle weighing more than the average locomotive, which in turn was supported by two skeleton pyramids. The spokes were of wire, two and a half inches thick. Unpre-

pared for a project so startlingly original, the authorities withheld, till within six months of the opening, a concession for placing it, allowing Mr. Ferris for the construction and erection of his monster less than a sixth of the time consumed

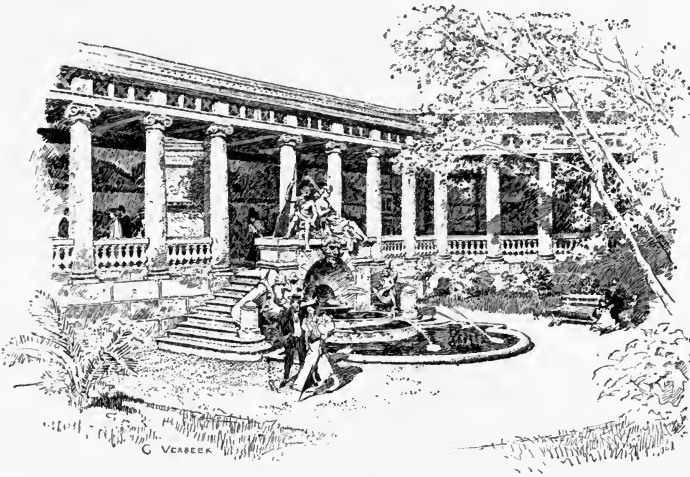


A VIEW TOWARD THE PERISTYLE FROM MACHINERY HALL

TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

in building the Eiffel Tower. Yet the wheel was completed in the time required, and is said to have varied from a true circle less than the most delicate pivot wheel of a watch.

Pilgrims to the Chicago spectacle, of course, required extensive preparations for their convenience and safety both *en route* and after arrival. The Exposition managers early appointed a Committee on Transportation. This chanced to consist largely of railroad men whose lines converged in Chicago. As committeemen these gentlemen were not supposed to know the temper of the roads. They therefore wrote asking reduced rates. On receiving, next morning, their own requests, they were better informed, and wrote themselves answers unanimously refusing to reduce. This was the worse policy in that, later, the roads did lower rates, thus aggravating the inevitable congestion of traffic toward the end of the season and increasing the number of railroad accidents. Yet the railway achievements evoked by the Fair were admirable. A New York Central & Lake Shore train daily covered in twenty hours the almost 1,000 miles from New York to Chicago, a rate of 48.4 miles an hour, including stops. Permanent improvements were made in some roads, such as long



The French Building

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



OLON S. BEEMAN
Architect of Mines and Mining Building



HENRY IVES COBB
Architect of Fisheries Building

watering-troughs, from which the locomotives scooped their water, like Gideon's warriors, as they bounded along. For excursions to the Exposition Pittsburg seemed to be the banner city. Thence, on October 21st, a single excursion train, in eight sections, bore to Chicago 3,575 passengers. The Fair increased the passenger traffic of the Illinois Central over two hundred per cent. That road spent over \$2,000,000 in preparation, raising its tracks for $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles over 13 city streets, building 300 special cars and erecting many new stations.

The number of paid admissions to the Columbian Fair was 21,477,218, a daily average of 119,984 $\frac{1}{2}$. The gross attendance was 27,529,400, exceeding by nearly a million the number at the Paris Exposition for the six months ending with October, though rather over half a million less than the total attendance at Paris, where the gates were open a considerably longer time than at

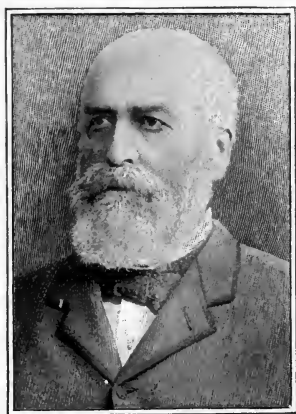
Chicago. The monthly average of visitors increased steadily from about 1,000,000 in May to nearly 7,000,000 in October. It was estimated that in all 12,000,000 different individuals saw the Fair. Notwithstanding the presence of such multitudes, the grounds were always clean and there was no ruffianism—two creditable features on which English visitors remarked. The most interesting sight was the sight-seers. It was a typical American crowd, orderly, good-natured, intelligent. At

THE END OF THE "WHITE CITY"

points where more than could do so wished to see the same sight at the same time, no greedy elbowing occurred. A careful and constant visitor failed "to observe on the grounds by day or night a single drunken or disorderly person, or any emergency at any time when a guard or policeman was required." The police, and particularly the secret service, were efficient. Of \$32,988 worth of property reported stolen, \$31,875 was recovered and restored.

Two days before the Exposition closed an assassin's bullet felled at his own threshold Carter Harrison, Mayor of Chicago. This accomplished gentleman had been prominent in originating and installing the Fair, and its closing ceremonies in Festival Hall were deeply shadowed by his death. Only prayer, resolutions of condolence, and a benediction preceded the sharp click of President Higginbotham's gavel. As the assembly dispersed the organ pealed out Chopin's and Beethoven's funeral marches. At sunset the shore battery fired a last salute, the half-masted flags of all nations dropped simultaneously, and the mighty parade was over.

The only structure intended to be permanent was the Art Building. The others were superfluous so soon as the occasion which called them into existence had passed. The question of their disposition was summarily solved. One day some boys playing near the Terminal Station saw a sinister leer of flame inside. They tried to stamp it out, but a high wind was blowing, and soon Chicago's old discomfited foe rose with a roar to wreak vengeance upon the deserted and helpless White City, Chicago's child. The flames quickly enveloped the beautiful Administration Building, and in a few minutes the Mining and Electricity



CARTER H. HARRISON
By permission of Place & Coover

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

Buildings as well. Meanwhile, from the Terminal Station the fierce contagion had spread to the Machinery and Agricultural Buildings. Next moment it fastened upon the Transportation Building and the lordly Hall of Manufactures. Witnesses will never forget the burning of this mammoth. Hardly had it caught fire when the roof collapsed, while from hundreds of windows shot out derisive tongues of flame. The lagoons and the lake were lurid with a glare visible long leagues away. The walls tottered, the vistas fell in with a deafening roar, and at last the fire demon subsided among the ruins, leaving ashes, heaps of *débris*, tortured iron work, and here and there an arch to tell of his orgy.



The Electricity Building

The Mines and Mining Building

THE BURNING OF THE WHITE CITY

CHAPTER IX

WORLD'S EXPOSITION HINTS UPON THE PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES

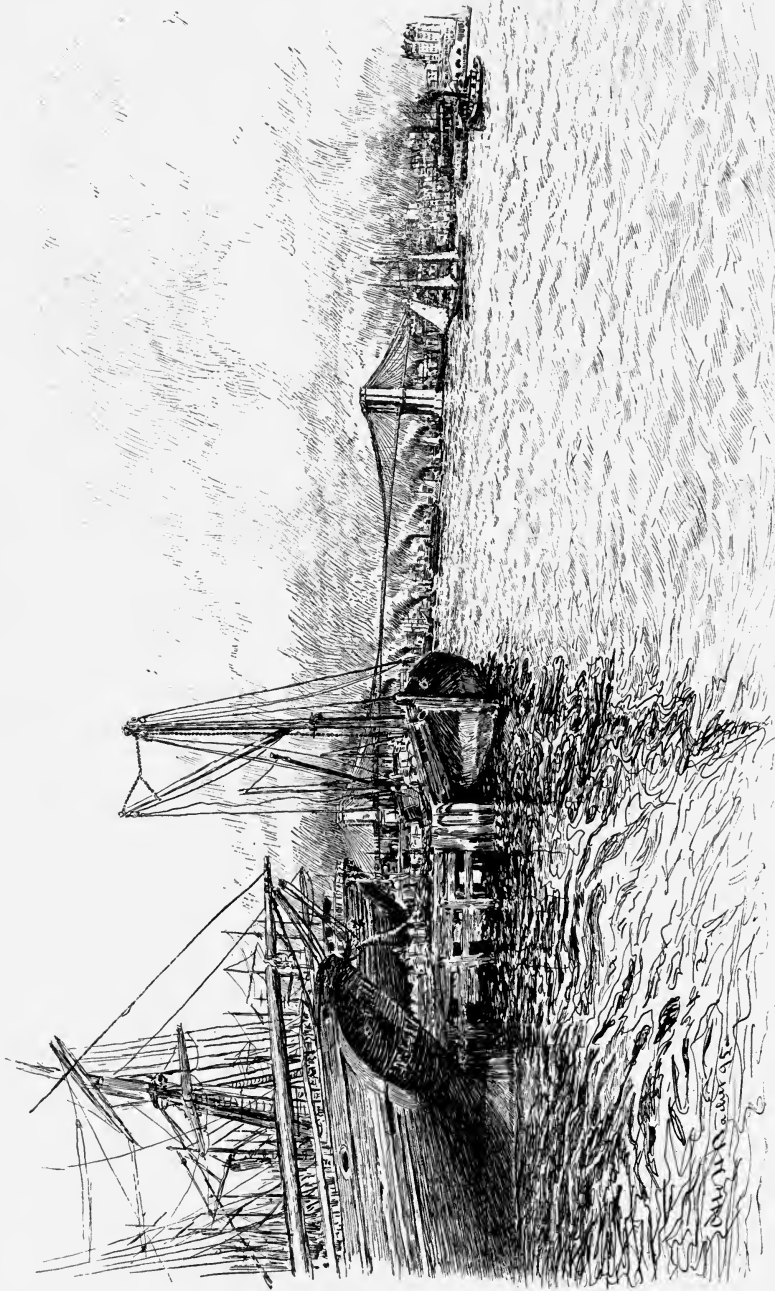
DATA FROM THE ELEVENTH CENSUS.—PROGRESS IN BRIDGE CONSTRUCTION.—THE BROOKLYN BRIDGE.—THE CANTILEVER MODEL.—ELEVATED RAILWAYS.—STEEL STRUCTURE IN BUILDINGS.—ADVANCE IN TELEGRAPHY.—THE EARTH TWICE CIRCLED IN FIFTY MINUTES.—TIME AND THE TELEGRAPH.—THE WEATHER BUREAU.—THE TELEPHONE.—ELECTRIC LIGHTING.—TRANSMISSION OF ELECTRICAL POWER.—ELECTRIC RAILWAYS.—EDISON.—HIS CAREER.—HIS INVENTIONS.—THE PHONOGRAPH AT A FUNERAL.—TESLA.—COMPARED WITH EDISON.—TESLA'S AIM.—ASTOUNDING PERFORMANCES WITH ELECTRICITY.—NIAGARA'S POWER TURNED INTO ELECTRICITY.—ELECTRIC TRANSMISSION AT LAUFEN.—AT FOLSOM, CAL.—THE ORIGINAL BICYCLE.—THE "SAFETY."—THE BICYCLE "CRAZE."—NEW METHODS FOR THE CULTURE AND THE CAPTURE OF FISH.—THE ROSE TRAP.—THE FYKE NET.—THE PURSE SEINE.—STEAM IN MENHADEN FISHING.—THE WORLD'S CONGRESS AUXILIARY.—PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS.—THE WOMAN'S BUILDING AT THE EXPOSITION.—WOMAN'S INFLUENCE IN AMERICAN LIFE.—THE WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.—THE CRUSADE OF 1873-74.—VICTORY AT WASHINGTON COURT HOUSE.—LUDICROUS SIDE OF THE CRUSADE.—ITS SPREAD.—THE TEMPERANCE UNION GROWS OUT OF THE CRUSADE.—WOMAN IN THE SALVATION ARMY.—RISE OF THE ARMY.—IT INVADES AMERICA.—GOOD WORK.—THE ARMY'S DISCIPLINE.—WOMEN MADE "CAPTAINS," ETC., THE SAME AS MEN.

WHEN the World's Fair was conceived, when it was born, and during the brief, bright period of its existence, the returns of the Eleventh Census were undergoing compilation. That the Exposition and the census returns awakened public attention together was fortunate, as each made more impressive the other's testimony to our unparalleled national growth. The Census of 1790 had been a mere count of the people, quickly and easily despatched. Five years after the enumeration for the Eleventh Census, the returns, des-

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

tined to fill twenty-five volumes and to cost \$11,000,000, were not fully compiled. In 1790 the population of the United States numbered 3,929,214. In 1890 there were 62,622,250, nearly sixteen times the earlier sum. The relatively small percentage of increase to 1890 from 1880, when the count footed up but 50,155,783, disappointed even conservative estimates. It was exceeded by that of every decade down to 1860, and rose above that of the war decade by little over two per cent.

Increase in the proportion of city population, observable in 1880, was more so now. Only in the West had rural development stood comparison with urban. In 1880 our cities contained $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the population; in 1890, 29 per cent. New York still held her primacy, containing 1,515,301 souls. Chicago had grown to be the second city of the Union, with a population of 1,099,850. Philadelphia, Brooklyn and St. Louis followed, in this order. St. Paul, Omaha and Denver had tripled or quadrupled their size since 1880. Kansas no longer possessed any unoccupied land. Nebraska owned scarcely any. Among Western States Nevada alone languished. The State of Washington had nearly quintupled her citizens. Though only a few counties in the whole country absolutely lost in population, many parts of the East and South had grown little. The 1890 census revealed the centre of population twenty miles east of Columbus, Ind., it having since 1880 moved nearly fifty miles west and nine miles north. In 1890 the country had 163,000 miles of railroad, nearly double that in existence ten years before. Our national wealth in 1890 was valued at \$65,037,091,197, an increase for the decade of \$21,395,091,197. The per capita wealth had multiplied from \$870 to \$1,039, an increase of 49.02 per cent. The output of minerals, measured in dollars, had gone up more than half. Farming alone seemed to have lagged. The improved acreage of the country had increased less than a third, the number of farms a little over an eighth. The proportion of school enrollment to total population had



THE BROOKLYN BRIDGE
Drawn from nature by Otto H. Bacher

SUSPENSION AND CANTILEVER BRIDGES

advanced from twelve per cent. in 1840 to twenty-three per cent. in 1890. The religious bodies of the United States embraced 20,612,806 communicants, not far from a third of the population. About one-tenth of the population were Catholics.

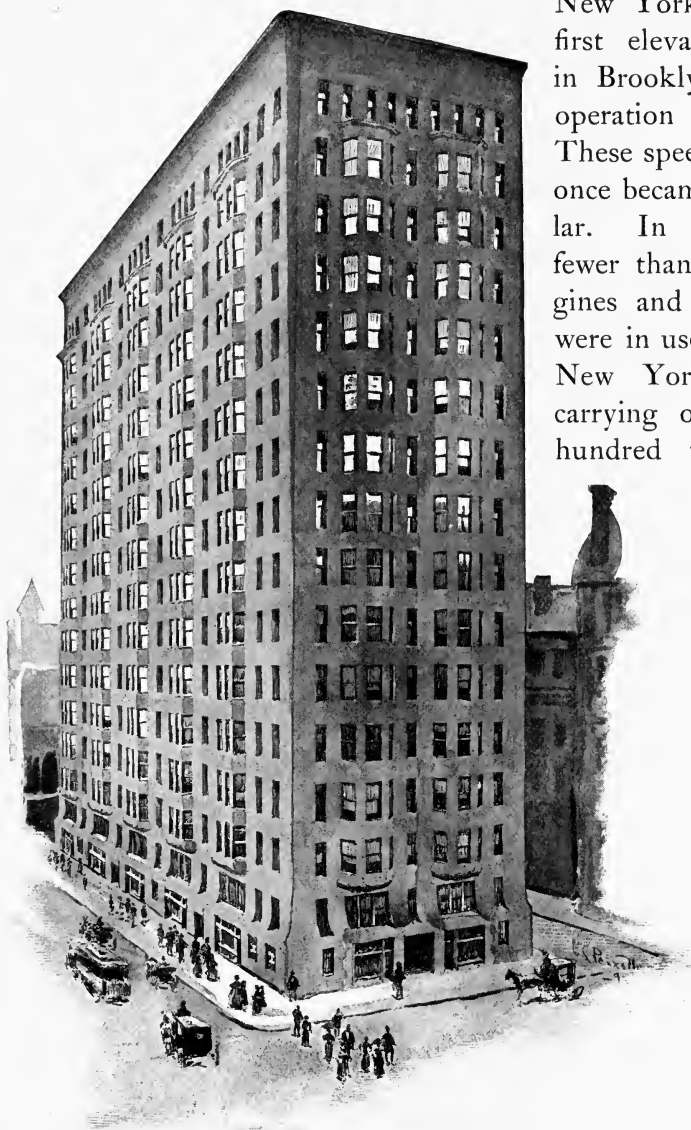
In respect to the nation's scientific progress, what the Fair hinted at was immensely more than what it immediately revealed. The Eiffel Tower might be styled the badge of the Paris Exposition; the Ferris Wheel bore the same relation to ours. Tower and wheel alike uniquely exemplified the fact that in thirty years bridge construction had become almost an exact science. Many remembered the days of wooden bridges and massive wooden trestles, to compose one of which a forest had to be felled. Improvement in iron and steel manufacture changed this. The suspension bridge marked the new era, its most noted exemplar being the East River Bridge between New York and Brooklyn. John A. Roebling designed this, but died before work upon it was fairly commenced. It was continued by his son, Washington A. Roebling, even after he was stricken with paralysis, his wife becoming his lieutenant. The towers rose, then strand by strand the sixteen-inch cables were woven. The length of the bridge was nearly six thousand feet, and each foot weighed more than a ton. The rise and fall winter and summer was three feet. A still larger suspension bridge was proposed in 1896 to cross the North River.

The suspension bridge did not meet the demand of our railroad builders for speed in construction. Accordingly, the autumn of 1883, the year when the Brooklyn Bridge was completed, witnessed the advent of a pioneer of another type, the cantilever bridge, consisting of truss-work beams poised upon stone piers and meeting each other, a design of wonderful capabilities. The Niagara Suspension Bridge, built by Roebling in the fifties, was in 1896 about to be replaced by a cantilever structure, to occupy precisely the place of the original bridge. The change was to be consummated without an hour's interruption of traffic.

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

Extension in the use of iron and steel also made elevated railways possible. A project in this direction dated from 1868. Exactly ten years later two sections of railway were open in

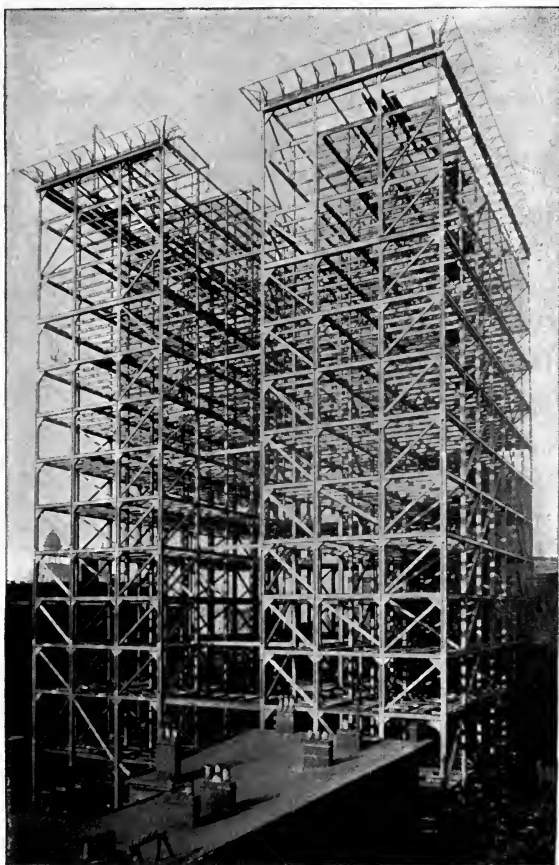
New York. The first elevated road in Brooklyn began operation in 1885. These speedways at once became popular. In 1890 no fewer than 291 engines and 921 cars were in use by the New York lines, carrying over five hundred thousand



A TYPICAL HIGH BUILDING—MONADNOCK BUILDING, CHICAGO

STEEL FRAME HIGH BUILDINGS

passengers daily, or about one hundred and three millions for the year. Chicago followed with the "Alley L" line, so-called from the lanes to which it was relegated. Boston preferred provision for rapid transit by means of an underground railway system like London's. Spite of the freest possible lateral vent, population and business in our largest cities exerted greater and greater vertical



*STEEL FRAME OF THE CARNEGIE BUILDING,
PITTSBURG, PA.*

pressure. High buildings resulted, in which, again, steel played a vital part, affording lightness, strength and fire-proof quality and permitting rapidity of construction. The walls simply served as a covering and were not made to sustain the floors, the weight being all carried by iron posts and girders.

In 1876 the telegraph constituted almost the sole practical application of electricity. Twenty years later even that invention owed its chief efficiency to improvements made meantime, while the new uses of electricity were almost infinitely numerous. Edison prophesied that some day man-

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

kind's sole work would consist in "pushing the button." When Morse's bill for a telegraph line between Washington and Baltimore first reached Congress, he was ridiculed much as rain-makers have since been. One legislator moved to amend by providing for a line to the moon, the House entertaining the amendment because it entertained the House. Morse, however, got his appropriation. The first day of its public operation that telegraph, it is said, yielded the Government one cent; in 1890 a single telegraph company had a yearly revenue of nearly \$20,000,000. Stearns and Edison compelled the single wire to carry several messages at once, and that in different directions.

During the great electrical exposition in New York City in May, 1896, a message was transmitted round the world and back in fifty minutes. It was dictated by Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, and read: "God creates, nature treasures, science utilizes electrical power for the grandeur of nations and the peace of the world."

Starting at 8.35, these words sped over the land lines to San Francisco, thence back to Canso, Nova Scotia, where they plunged under the sea to London. A click of the key four minutes later announced the completion of this part of the journey. Cannon were fired in honor of the achievement, while the dense throng on the floor of the exhibition building cheered. Meantime the General Manager of the Western Union Company had despatched the same message over his lines to Los Angeles, Galveston, City of Mexico, Valparaiso, Buenos Ayres, Pernambuco, across the Atlantic to Lisbon, and back to New York by way of London, a journey of ten thousand miles in eleven and a half minutes. At 9.25, just fifty minutes from the start, the receiving instrument clicked, and Mr. Edison, for the nonce again a simple telegraph operator as of yore, copied from it the Depew message. It had travelled from London to Lisbon, thence to Suez, Aden, Bombay, Madras, Singapore, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Naga-

TELEGRAPHIC FEATS

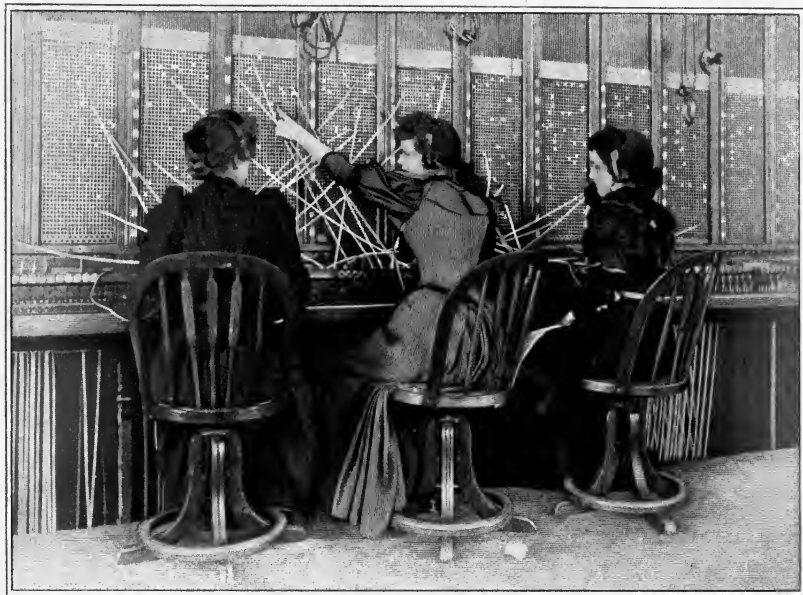
saki and Tokio, returning by the same route to New York, having traversed a distance of over 27,500 miles, and reading not a comma the worse for the vast and speedy trip. While the messages were on their way a glass arrow over each of the instruments flashed notice of their direction and of their arrival at important points. When their return was announced cannon boomed again and thousands of voices rent the air with applause.

At noon each day the Western Union lines were left open for the transmission over the country of the correct time from the national observatory. From about 1884 an arrangement prevailed, started by the railway authorities, dividing the country into time-strips running north and south, the clocks over any given strip being just an hour behind those upon the strip next to the east. The territory east of the meridian passing Buffalo and Pittsburg had Eastern Time. The Central Time belt came next, reaching to the meridian of North Platte, Nebraska. Thence to the line of Ogden, Utah, was Mountain Time; and from there westward, Pacific Time. This arrangement was a convenience to the people as a whole, but begot rank confusion of time along the line of each divisional meridian. Another invaluable use of the telegraph was its service to the Weather Bureau, established in 1870. European bureaus had covered each too small a territory to effect large results. Our Bureau was able to command simultaneous reports of atmospheric conditions from nearly every part of our country, from a tract 3,000 miles long by 1,500 wide. Besides its prized advice to farmers and to land travelers, the American Weather Bureau, aided by the telegraph, on more than one occasion saved, by its predictions, millions of dollars worth of shipping. After its establishment no ship-captain would leave port without fullest consultation of official weather probabilities.

The telephone, the electric light and the electric motor were the three great *fin de siècle* inventions. In 1876 Mr. Bell

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exhibited to the curious an electric transmitter of the human voice, a contrivance on which, after years of experiment, he had stumbled almost simultaneously with other men. Testing



The Switchboard of a Telephone Exchange

the possibility of sending mere sound-waves over a wire, he accidentally found that articulate speech could be so carried. The same year Edison added a carbon transmitter, whereupon the novelty went forth conquering and to conquer. In 1893 the Bell Telephone Company owned 307,748 miles of wire, an amount increased by rival companies' property to 444,750. There were that year nearly 14,000 "exchanges," 10,000 employés, 250,000 subscribers, and 2,000,000 daily conversations. This device promised to rival the telegraph, being able to transmit the human voice 1,400 miles. New York and Chicago were placed on speaking terms only three or four days before "Columbus Day." Telephone service connected New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, and other cities each to each, and was soon found indispensable.

ELECTRICITY IN MAN'S SERVICE

Arc-lamps shown at the Philadelphia Exposition drew sightseers as candles attract moths. They had originated shortly before, when Charles F. Brush, of Cleveland, O., perfected his dynamo. Men of science still viewed incandescent lighting as an elusive will-o'-the-wisp; but in 1878 Edison, after stupendous labor, mastered the secret and rendered it practically available. At the White City the arc light literally turned night into day. Palaces were radiant with countless incandescent bulbs, while many-colored electric fountains coruscated outside.

In the Centennial year the thought of transmitting power by electricity was considered chimerical. In the Columbian year it was no longer even a novelty, and electricity was far and wide beginning to supplant forms of power familiar before. Street-car traction soon passed to its control, the few horses still for a time in this service coming to be looked upon as curious survivals. Whereas in 1889, out of 3,150 miles of street railway in fifty-eight of the leading American cities, only 260 were operated by electricity, the proportion in the intervening six years was almost reversed, and the electric car had become an established feature of our civilization. Where a city business man or laborer living in the suburbs formerly required an hour to reach home, the trolley-car now transported him in twenty minutes. A vast addition was thus made to the leisure at men's disposal for uses which enrich life. Rapid transit blessedly relieved the crowded sections of cities, placing the country with its invigorating air within reach of the poor. Electricity was used to move trains upon great railways and bade fair to supplant steam there. The use of it by a few roads proved its perfect availability, and its full employment seemed to be postponed solely by disinclination to invest in a given mode for its application when a cheaper and better one might be invented any day. Horseless carriages and pedalless bicycles were clearly in prospect.

Among those deserving the world's gratitude for har-

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nessing electricity to humanity's uses, Thomas Alva Edison, "the Wizard of Menlo Park," was famous—less for strict originality than for dogged patience and subtle insight enabling him to fructify others' devices. Thrown upon the world at fifteen, with little book learning but with a wonderful craving for knowledge, he placed himself among the world's most famous men. While a newsboy on the Grand Trunk Railway he found time to read Newton's "Principia," to edit and print a small weekly paper, and to conduct experiments. He became a telegraph operator. One of his inventions was an automatic device for answering the central office when it called, proving himself awake, though in fact he was quietly dozing. He also contrived an automatic repeater to transfer messages from one wire to another. Interesting some capitalists in a machine by which votes in legislative bodies could be automatically recorded, he learned that expedition in legislation was what legislators, at least if in the minority, did not desire. His first profitable invention was an improved stock printer, for which he received \$40,000. From this time he wrought miracles on notification—useful ones, that have modified men's life in important regards. Incandescent lighting early became familiar to all; the phonograph also to most. This instrument was employed by a coroner to pronounce a funeral service. He had procured a phonograph for the purpose and gotten a clergyman to utter to it the proper scriptures, hymns and prayers. When occasion arose for its use the friends gathered at the obsequies were astonished to hear the words "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord" sonorously rolled forth. Combined with the kinetoscope the phonograph formed the "kineto-phonograph." Edison declared that the time was near "when grand opera could be given at the Metropolitan Opera House at New York without any material change from the original and with artists and musicians long dead."

A more original genius than Edison, veritably a wizard,

EDISON AND TESLA



THOMAS A. EDISON IN HIS LABORATORY AT ORANGE, N. J.

From a photograph taken for this work

(The photographer found the great inventor temporarily discomfited—"stuck," as he himself expressed it.)

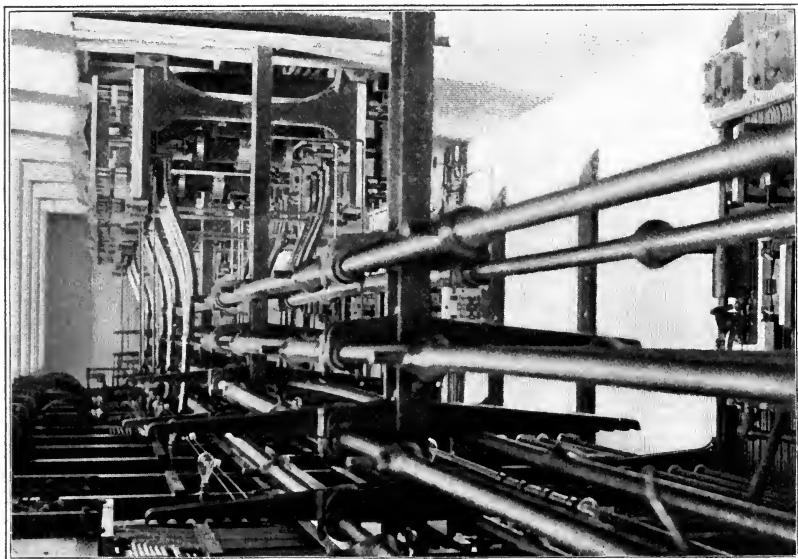
was Nikola Tesla, who came to the United States from Servia, and happened to find temporary employment with Edison on landing. The men were wholly unlike. At times both seemed to be somewhat given to telling the public through the reporters of the wonders they had wrought; but Tesla, at least, subsequently went to the other extreme in this respect. Before coming to this country, Tesla was highly educated, a fully equipped scientist, which Edison never was.

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



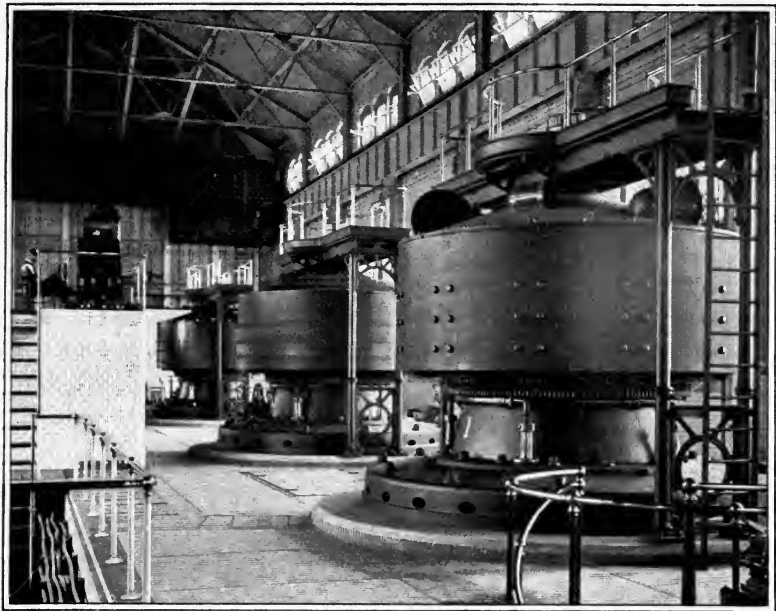
The Exterior of the Power House at Niagara Falls

Their ambitions or leading ideas were also wholly different. Edison was the champion of low tension direct current apparatus, bitterly opposing the advent of high tension alternating current distribution, in pushing which Tesla made himself



Under the Switchboard of the Niagara Power House

SCIENTIFIC MAGIC



Interior of the Power House at Niagara Falls

famous. This attitude of Edison's continued for years. Not till he had withdrawn from active service therewith did the Edison Manufacturing Company yield to its customers' demand for alternating current machinery.

Tesla's aim was to hook man's machinery directly to nature's, pressing the ether waves straight into our service without the intervention or the generation of heat, in which such an enormous proportion of the energy went to waste. For small electric lights he dispensed with the filaments inside the bulbs and made rarefied air do their work. He sent currents of high tension through space without any visible conductor, at a voltage many times greater than that employed in electrocution. He received in his person currents vibrating a million times a second, of two hundred times greater voltage than needed to produce death. He surrounded himself with a halo of electric light and called purple streams from the soil. He expected that by his "rotating magnetic field" and the

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employment of currents of great frequency and high potential, power could be economically transmitted to a much greater distance than before.

Tesla's very high tension and high frequency experiments did not at once result in practical applications. His polyphase motors were, however, adopted for converting into electricity the power of Niagara Falls. In 1873 a canal was opened there with a fall furnishing 6,000 horse-power. After 1890 another canal was built, conveying a vast weight of water to the wheel-pit through ten separate channels. This mighty volume of descending water drove three turbines, each equipped with one of Tesla's 2-phase alternating generators of 5,000 horse-power, developing about 2,000 volts with a frequency of 25 cycles a second. It was thought that the Niagara Falls Power Company could, before very long, furnish Chicago with energy at a cost less than that of steam made on the spot by coal. Presaging such a result, electricity created at Laufen, Germany, was carried to Frankfort with a loss of only four per cent. Electricity created at the falls of the American River at Folsom, Cal., where four turbine water-wheels developed over 5,000 horse-power, was carried by overhead copper wires to Sacramento, twenty-four miles away, with a loss of not over twenty per cent. At first it was used to propel street cars, but it was also to be employed for lighting streets and operating factories.

A species of clumsy bicycle obtained considerable popularity in the United States in 1868. The fad proved temporary, but was the forerunner of an abiding national habit. The first bicycle proper was brought to this country in 1876, being exhibited at the Centennial. Two years later "wheels" began to be manufactured here. Each instrument consisted of one large wheel, to which were attached cranks and pedals, and one small one connected with the first by a curved "backbone," this being surmounted by a saddle. The danger of riding the high wheel led to many variations of its design, none of which

UBIQUITY OF THE BICYCLE

were successful, and bicycling continued to be experts' work until 1889, when the "safety" became prominent. In this machine the two wheels were made of the same size, the saddle placed above and between them upon a suitable frame, while the crank axle was connected with the rear or driving wheel by means of a chain geared upon sprockets. The popularity of this form of bicycle was amazingly enhanced by the adoption of inflated or pneumatic tires, an invention half a century old but now finding its first successful application.

Bicycle makers multiplied and prospered despite the panic of 1893. Sewing machine and arms companies turned to the manufacture of bicycles. Agitation and legislation for good roads became a phenomenon of the times. Railroads were in some States compelled to take bicycles as baggage. The "safety" pattern was so modified as to enable ladies to ride it with little change in their attire, and the exercise was welcomed by many. While makers and sellers of wheels and wheel



Bicyclists in Central Park, New York

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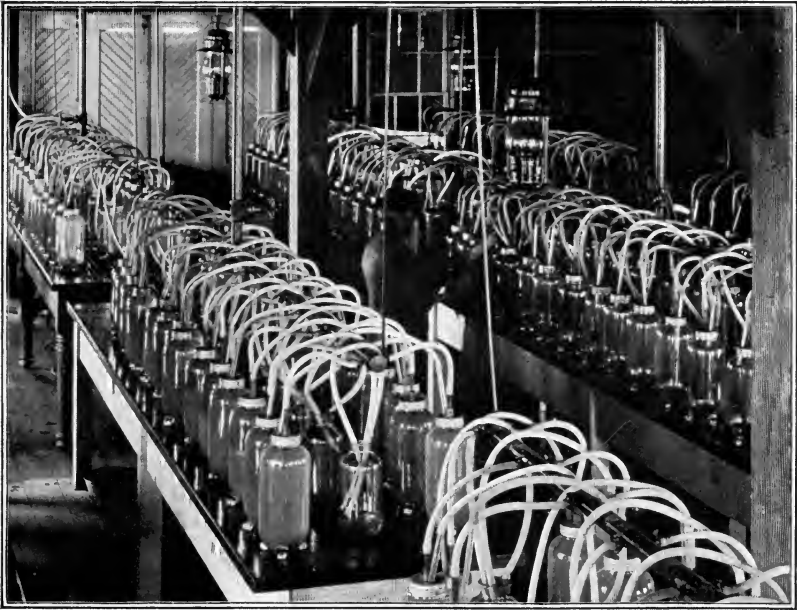
equipments thrive, liverymen and horse dealers did less business. Clothiers complained that only cycling suits could be sold. Liquor dealers in some sections could not vend their wares in intoxicating quantities even among young men who had formerly indulged freely. People in the most moderate circumstances would rigidly economize in other directions for the sake of purchasing cycles. It was estimated in 1896 that no less than \$100,000,000 had been spent in the United States upon this sport. When comfortable and hygienic saddles came into use, physicians endorsed the exercise. One prominent New York practitioner believed that no other invention for 200 years had, from a physical point of view, done so much for the human family.

People who had time and curiosity to study the Fisheries Exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition were impressed with the progress there revealed in the arts of fish culture and fish capture. Less obtrusive than other aspects of the nation's advance, mastery of the fisherman's craft could by no means be deemed unimportant. In 1870 our Government created a Commission whose province was to collect statistics of fish and fisheries, to experiment concerning the best methods for the capture, preservation and propagation of fish, and to investigate the habits and qualities of the various species of fish, as well as the foods suitable to each.

The business of catching fish received attention and development in a way less scientific but no less thorough. The State of Rhode Island here held a unique place of honor. Till about 1840 the old barbed hook and shore seine were in use in that State as elsewhere. A great stride forward was made by the invention of the trap. This contrivance was in the form of a sugar box with top and one end removed. It was anchored in the water, and a fence of twine made from one side of it to the shore. The fish swam to the fence, then turned to swim around it, thus making their way into the trap. The original trap was a crude affair, for the fish could swim

IMPROVEMENTS IN FISHING METHODS

out as well as in, making constant attention necessary to capture them before their exit. In 1883 William R. Rose used for the first time the famous Rose trap, a marked improvement over the old instrument. It held all the fish that entered it, and could be set in the open sea as well as near land. Another clever invention for catching fish was the fyke net, consisting of a series of tunnels placed in line with each other, and held in position by stakes, with a twine fence to inveigle the fish, just as in the case of the trap. To Captain James B. Church was due the credit of introducing steamers for menhaden fishing, which soon revolutionized that business. But the greatest labor-saver ever invented for reaping the harvests



The Hatchery Room of the Fish Commission Building at Washington, D. C., showing the hatchery jars in operation

of the sea was the purse seine, devised by the Tallmans, of Portsmouth, R. I.

Outwardly composed of materialities, the Exposition was a colossal manifestation of mentality, "an unspoken but sub-

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lime protest against materialism." To emphasize that fact, to bring together the leaders of human progress, to review this, make clear statements of living problems and ascertain practical means by which further advancement might be effected, a series of World's Congresses was held at Chicago, constituting a World's Congress Auxiliary. Its motto was, "Not matter but mind, not things but men." In all there were 160 congresses, covering the entire six months of the Fair. Philosophy, Religion, Moral and Social Reform, Woman's Progress, the Press, Commerce and Finance, Music, Literature, Art, Jurisprudence, Education, Agriculture, Horticulture, Engineering, Medical and Dental Science were all learnedly discussed, several congresses apiece being devoted to some of them. The Evangelical Alliance held its congress, as did the Women's Christian Temperance Union. There were also a congress on Public Health and a World's Real Estate congress. The Congress Auxiliary employed 210 working committees, who sent out over 1,000,000 circulars. Its membership exceeded 15,000, its attendance exceeded 700,000. There were 1,245 sessions, addressed by 5,974 speakers. Most interesting was the World's Parliament of Religions, which held three sessions a day for seventeen days, each session being thronged. Representatives of the leading Christian sects and of the world's leading religions presented their views. The Parliament was an index of the tolerance of the time and nation, and had an effect not unlike that of the crusades in broadening and strengthening men's sympathies.

The Chicago Exposition proved that the ideals of the Republic, if far from being attained, had not been surrendered. The building just north of Horticultural Hall, tastefully designed by Miss Sophia Hayden, of Boston, was not only the first of the World's Fair edifices to be completed, but the first building of its kind to be anywhere reared. It typified that note of our life most striking to foreigners, the high position of woman, which Professor Bryce declared "If not a complete test, one

A GREAT TEMPERANCE CRUSADE

of the best tests of the progress a nation has made in civilization." For the excellence of its contents the Woman's Building was finally made an "exhibit" building, occupying a creditable place. Other departments of the Exposition gathered obvious refinement from feminine influence. This was especially true of the art set forth at the Fair, which ought, perhaps, to be pronounced strictly "American" in hardly any other particular but this. The principal thoroughly national painting presented, "Breaking Home Ties," sensibly betrayed the motive here referred to. Raised to practical equality with her brothers, the American woman's influence had shown to excellent advantage. Universities and colleges one after another opened their doors to her. Occupations of honor and profit more and more as the years passed welcomed her, and she did well in whichever she chose. In fields of philanthropy and moral reform, woman's talent for organization and her persistence in work for good ends were conspicuous.

There have been few more remarkable examples of efficient organization on a large scale than was presented by the Women's Christian Temperance Union. It had origin in the Women's Temperance Crusade of 1873-74, which at the time attracted wide attention. The crusade was due primarily to Dr. Dio Lewis, the lecturer. On December 14, 1873, nearly one hundred women at Fredonia, N. Y., stirred by Dr. Lewis's words, set forth upon a mission among the saloons. At Jamestown, N. Y., and Hillsboro, O., Mr. Lewis formed similar bands. December 24, 1873, he lectured at Washington Court House with powerful effect. Forty-seven women straightway organized themselves into a "visitation committee," invading every one of the fourteen places in town where liquor was sold, to sing and pray, and to plead with the proprietors to close. When doors were locked against them, the gentle crusaders knelt in the snow on the pavement and prayed for those within. On the third day one liquor dealer gave up, permitting the women to stave in his kegs and casks with axes. On the

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eighth day the strain became too great and the last saloon in the place surrendered unconditionally. Soon cries for help came from neighboring towns, and many were visited by delegations from Washington Court House.



MRS. ANNA WITTENMEYER
From a photograph by Gutekunst

Returning from one of these apostolic tours the Washington Court House ladies found that a new man had opened a saloon. A cargo of liquor being unloaded there next day, about forty women appeared and followed the liquor in, remaining all day and until eleven o'clock at night. On the morrow they returned and were for a time locked in. Next day locked out, they built fires in the street, and had a little plank tabernacle put up to shelter them from the cold. This liquor-dealer also "surrendered." He had been a milkman, but changed his trade when promised \$5,000 "if he would hold out against the women."

Crusading was not without its ludicrous side. One of the Washington Court House liquor establishments was a German beer-garden just outside the corporation. Expecting a siege, the proprietor locked the doors and kept anxiously running from window to window. "I dells you," he wailed, while a motley group of customers, absorbed in absorbing beer and pigs' feet, applauded, "I dells you, dem vimins is shoost awful. By shinks, dey pild a house right in de street, and stay mit a man all day a singin' and oder foolishness. But dey don't get in here once agin already." Seeing no signs of the enemy "mein host" gradually became calm. He too soon flattered himself upon his immunity. Two ladies, the van-guard, were seen driving from the village, and recognized as crusaders. Next moment the host was making all speed toward town. "Ach, mein Gott," he shouted, "dey gooms; dey gooms. I

THE WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION

tole you dey gooms agin to-day already. I shoost go and see my gounsel, to see ven I no got a right to my own property." The crusaders were warned from the premises, but took position upon friendly territory adjacent, where their tabernacle was erected with strong reflectors focussed upon those paths of the wicked which led to any of the saloon doors. This species of illegal annoyance was stopped by injunction, but soon the proprietor found himself defendant in embarrassing suits under the liquor law. So unanimous and extreme was public opinion that all of both sexes who had not been enjoined formed in column and marched upon the redoubtable German, who cried in consternation: "Mein Gott! vat is dat? So many peebls! So many peebls!!" After a little parley with the leaders, he took off his hat and announced to the multitude:

"Shentlemens, I quits."

The crusade spread through all southern Ohio and gained much attention and interest outside. February 24, 1874, a convention in Columbus of all those interested in the "Washington Court House Movement" formed a State Temperance Association. Larger conventions at Cincinnati and Springfield evolved the "Ohio Women's Christian Temperance Union." This grew into the National Women's Christian Temperance Union when, on November 18th and 19th of the same year, a convention of those interested gathered from all the States at Cleveland. Mrs. Anna Wittenmeyer, of Philadelphia, was elected the first president, and Miss Frances E. Willard, of Chicago, the corresponding secretary.

Another movement, world-famous, in which women evinced unsuspected powers of organization, administration



MISS FRANCES E. WILLARD

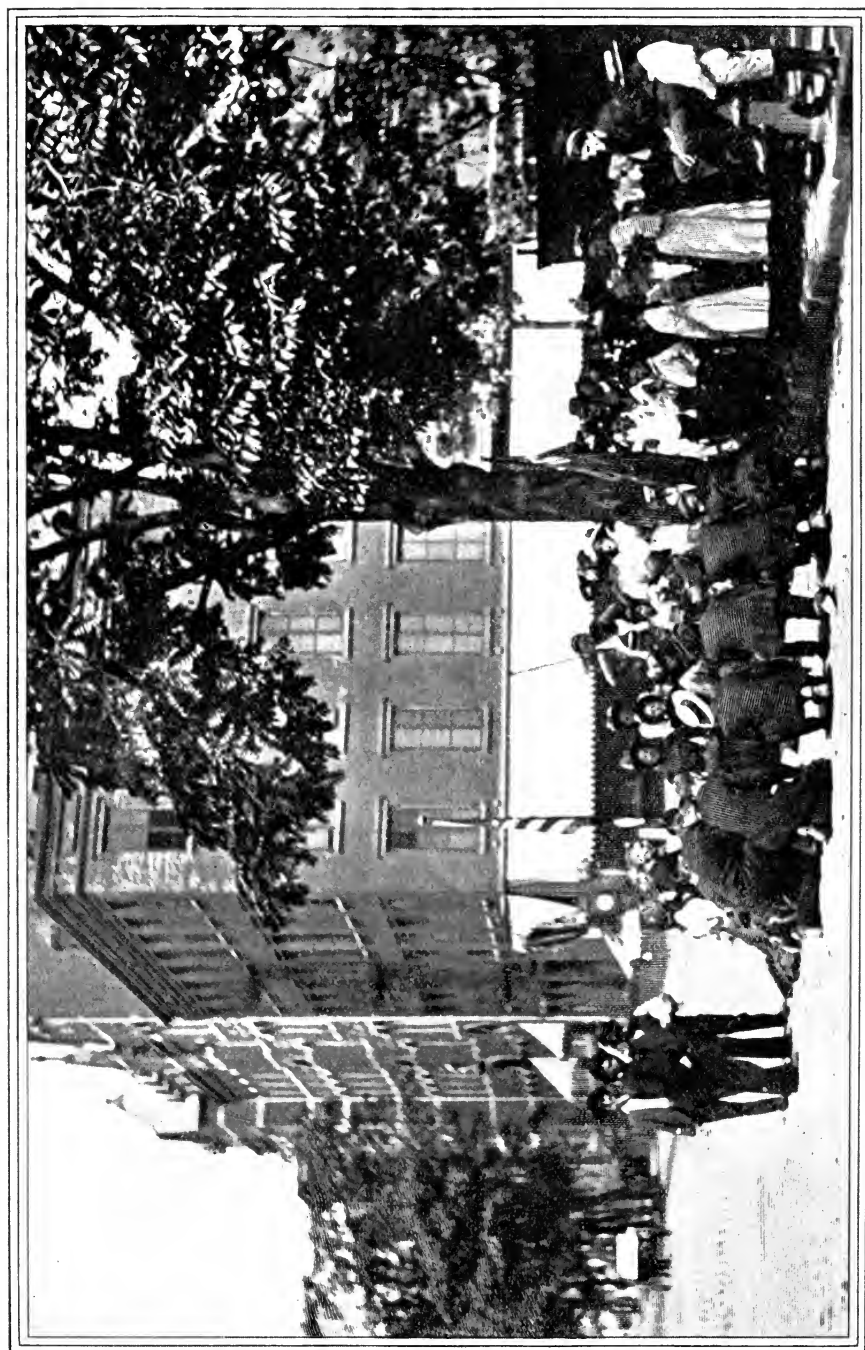
THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



WILLIAM BOOTH

and leadership, was the campaign of the Salvation Army. In 1861 William Booth, an English Methodist preacher, resigned his charge and began earnest and direct efforts for the poor, speaking in the open country, in market-places, in the slums, in stables, beer-houses, low theatres and penny-gaffs, some of them places of grossest immorality. The East End of London became Mr. Booth's favorite field. His wife and all his children added their voices to his in the preaching, which, spite of persecution or partly because of it, became wonderfully effective. As the converts could not be induced to join or even to attend churches, where they believed themselves "not wanted," it became necessary to set up, what was not at first contemplated, a separate organization. In 1878 this assumed the title of the Salvation Army, and ere long it had its legions, its camps, and its trophies as well, in nearly every land under the sun. In 1879 the Army invaded America, landing at Philadelphia. The City of Homes and of Brotherly Love revealed low humanity grovelling in wretchedness and squalor to an appalling extent. In New York were found cases of want and sin as pitiable, and as large a proportion of pitiable cases, as in East London itself.

The Salvation Army had phenomenal success and growth. In 1894 there were in the United States 539 corps and 1,953 officers, and in the whole world 3,200 corps and 10,788 officers. The painful schism which in 1896 rent the American ranks did little, if any, visible mischief. Not only was the Army able to lift hordes of the fallen, but, as no other agency had ever succeeded in doing, it drew downward to the lowliest the attention, sympathy and help of the middle classes and even of the rich. Proposing no programme of political or



A SALVATION ARMY OPEN-AIR MEETING

SALVATION ARMY DISCIPLINE AND WORK

social amendment or experiment, ministering, out of its slender stores, to men's bodily as well as to their spiritual needs, above the suspicion either of sentimentalism—for the soldiers were mostly from the lower classes—or of selfishness, the army disarmed antagonism and compelled kind feelings from all. A Cleveland police officer declared that Salvationists could go where he dared not go, for "they never squealed." Yet at the penitent benches darkest crimes, even murder, were confessed, the converts voluntarily surrendering to the authorities.

Army discipline pervaded the organization and was firmly maintained. The soldiers were sworn to wear the uniform, to obey their officers, to abstain from drink, tobacco and worldly amusements, to live in simplicity and economy, to earn their living, and of their earnings always to give a little something to advance the Kingdom of God. The officers could not marry or become engaged without the consent of the Army authorities, for their spouses must be capable of co-operating with them. They could not receive presents for themselves, not even food, except in cases of necessity. To be made an officer a Salvationist must have received "full salvation," and must profess to be living free from every known sin. Officers' pay varied with the country in which they served, also somewhat according to sex, estate, a married or single, and number of children. Compensation for Army Service was not guaranteed. Except as to pay, the Army placed women on an absolute equality with men, a policy which greatly furthered its usefulness.

CHAPTER X

THE DEMOCRACY SUPREME

PANIC OF 1893.—EXTRA SESSION OF CONGRESS.—DEMOCRACY CONTROLS ALL BRANCHES OF THE GOVERNMENT.—RESULT.—CLEVELAND'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.—HIS CIVIL SERVICE RECORD.—REPEAL OF THE SILVER PURCHASE ACT.—GOLD OUTFLOW.—THE TARIFF TO BE REVISED.—THE WILSON BILL.—DEMOCRATIC PROTECTIONISTS.—THE SUGAR SCHEDULE.—SENATE AMENDMENTS.—“PARTY PERFIDY.”—THE BILL IN CONFERENCE.—SENATE WILL NOT RECEDE.—THE BILL PASSED.—CLEVELAND'S DILEMMA.—NO ONE SATISFIED.—OPPOSITION TO THE INCOME TAX PROVISION.—DECLARED UNCONSTITUTIONAL.—UNCLE SAM FORCED TO BORROW.—TREASURY METHODS CRITICISED.—TRUSTS.—ANTI-LOTTERY BILL PASSED.—A TAME FOREIGN POLICY.—HAWAII.—THE MISSIONARY PARTY.—LILIUOKALANI'S *COUP D'ÉTAT*.—U. S. TROOPS IN HONOLULU.—A REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT.—DESIRES ANNEXATION TO U. S.—TREATY OF ANNEXATION SENT TO SENATE.—CLEVELAND'S REACTIONARY POLICY.—“PARAMOUNT” BLOUNT.—STARS AND STRIPES HAULED DOWN.—EFFORT TO RESTORE THE QUEEN.—UNPOPULARITY OF THIS.—THE DOLE GOVERNMENT SAFE.—OLNEY SUCCEEDS GRESHAM IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.—FIRM STAND AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN IN VENEZUELA MATTER.—STARTLING MESSAGE OF DECEMBER, 1895.—THE VENEZUELA BOUNDARY COMMISSION.—PANIC IN WALL STREET.—SAVAGE ATTACKS ON THE PRESIDENT.—THE LEXOW INVESTIGATION.—CHARLES H. PARKHURST.—THE PUBLIC AND THE “FORCE.”—INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE.—JOHN W. GOFF.—FACTS ELICITED.—“REFORM” VICTORIOUS IN THE MUNICIPAL ELECTION.—THE “A. P. A.”—ITS ORIGIN.—IT'S *RAISONS D'ÊTRE*.—CIRCUMSTANCES OCCASIONING THE MOVEMENT.—MEMBERS AND INFLUENCE.—UNPOPULARITY.—THE SECRET OATH.—“PERJUROR AND TRAITOR.”

THE success of the Columbian Exposition was the more remarkable in view of the terrible commercial panic occurring the same summer. On June 26, 1893, the Government of British India suspended the free coinage of silver in that vast dominion. The decree seemed somehow to take effect on our side of the globe. A monetary panic ensued, in some respects the most distressing on record, closing mines,

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

depriving laborers of work, breaking banks, and convulsing trade. Vast sums of gold were hoarded ; much left the country. The Treasury reserve fell far below the traditional \$100,000,000. Banks called in outstanding credits and refused new ones. Values shrank phenomenally, and innumerable failures took place. Deeming the disorders due to Treasury purchases of silver under a clause of the Sherman law, to secure, if possible, the repeal of that clause, President Cleveland convoked the Fifty-third Congress in special session. This began on August 7th. Both Houses being Democratic, the whole legislative, as well as the executive authority of the government, was now in Democratic hands. It was an epoch in our history. At no time before, since March, 1859, in Buchanan's time, when the Thirty-fifth Congress ended its labors, had the Democracy been thus exalted. The country eagerly watched to see what action it would take on the various important measures awaiting legislation. The outcome was not what patriots hoped. In its responsible situation the Democratic Party showed little leadership, cohesion or wisdom. Rapidly, and at last almost entirely, it lost public confidence, preparing the Republican tidal wave of 1894. President Cleveland suffered as well as his political associates ; his friends and his enemies—and he had many of both—agreeing that his second administration was far less successful than his first.

In one particular this was untrue. Mr. Cleveland's civil service record during his second term was in the highest degree commendable, excelling that of any of his predecessors, and doing much to redeem the promises in this respect with which he took office at first. While public thought was turned to other matters, he silently and persistently extended the range of the merit system in appointments to office. The first day of 1896 found approximately 55,736 Government employes in the classified service, 12,807 more than on March 4, 1893. A still greater gain than this occurred during the same period, in the transfer to the competitive list of 2,955 offices previ-

SILVER PURCHASE LAW REPEALED

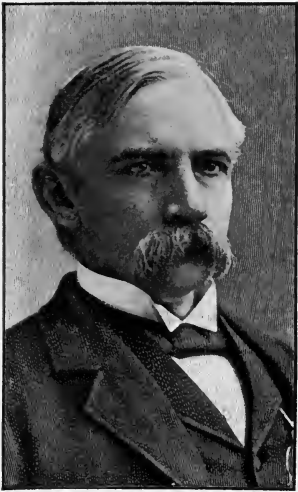
ously excepted therefrom. These exceptions had covered the highest and most important positions in the classified service. The theory was that the places were excepted in order that they might be filled by persons of qualifications too high to be gauged by the ordinary tests ; but they had in fact nearly always been filled for political reasons. Numerous exceptions in any branch of the classified service had the most evil effect, going far to nullify the beneficial influence of examinations. The reduction in the number of such exceptions was therefore a noteworthy step in advance. Progress was not confined to the classified service. For the first time in our history examinations—non-competitive indeed—were now made prerequisite to the appointment of consuls.

After a long fight, especially acrimonious in the Senate, the silver purchase law was repealed on November 1st. The result did not fulfill expectations. The gold flow from the Treasury was not stanchd. February 1, 1894, the reserve stood at \$65,438,377. Though it was replenished meantime by the sale of \$50,000,000 in bonds, June saw it again down to \$64,873,025, \$42,000,000 going out in five months. November 24, 1894, the reserve was \$57,669,701 ; February 1, 1895, \$41,340,181. Following precedent, the Secretary of the Treasury paid in gold every Treasury note that was presented. Whenever, therefore, in the struggle for gold, exchangers wished to send gold abroad, the government hoard was at their mercy. By collecting greenbacks and Sherman notes from banks and Trust Companies and presenting these at the Sub-Treasury, the gold they wished for, however great the sum, was paid into their hands. None could tell when it would all be gone and the country forced to a silver basis. In consequence, whatever revival of business occurred after the repeal was slight, gradual, hardly perceptible.

This unsatisfactory result most Democrats ascribed to the continuing exactions of the McKinley tariff; most Republicans to the fear of freer trade. It was a fear rather than

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

a certainty, since none knew whether the President would have the temerity to urge a revision of the tariff when the country's business was already so unsettled. Should he insist on doing so, many Democrats were likely not to act with him. But Mr. Cleveland did not flinch; the tariff must be revised at whatever cost. The controversy did not begin till the regular session, but then it came in earnest, with shocks opening wide seams in the party. On December 19th Chairman Wilson, of the Ways and Means Committee, reported to the House "An Act to reduce taxation, to provide revenue for the government, and for other purposes." Besides cutting down duties on many articles, the bill placed sugar, wool, coal, lumber and iron ore on the free list. A vote of 182 to 48 carried an amendment providing for a tax upon incomes exceeding \$4,000. The whole was then passed, 204 to 41. In the



WILLIAM L. WILSON

House the chief theme of discussion on the bill was its purpose "to reduce taxation." In the Senate, to which body it was reported with amendments from the Finance Committee, March 20, 1894, other phases of it were considered, and all perceived that it could not become law without large modifications. Its ability "to provide revenue for the government" was denied. "Protection" was contended for not by Republicans alone. It was publicly charged and widely believed that corrupt influences to preserve extortionate duties were at work upon Democrats. Hottest conflict raged over the sugar schedule. Consistency with the nature of the legislation required a heavy duty on raw sugar, a light one on refined; while the sugar refiners sought, at last successfully, to have the heavier tariff laid on refined sugar.

BITTER CONTROVERSY OVER THE TARIFF

Prospects of their triumph in this changed from day to day, and therewith the value of Sugar Trust certificates. It being alleged that Senators were speculating in these, one admitted that he was doing so, but boldly defended his course. The Sugar Trust was accused of bribing the Democracy by large contributions to its campaign funds. The allegations touching Senatorial corruption were investigated, but little pertinent evidence was elicited.

When, in July, the Senate amendments came up in the House, Chairman Wilson moved not to concur in them. His reasons were that except in the case of wool and lumber the principle of free raw materials had been abandoned, that many specific duties had been substituted for *ad valorem* ones, and that most of the Senate changes were in the direction of higher taxes. In a letter read before the House, President Cleveland upbraided the Senate Democrats who had abandoned the principle of free raw materials as guilty of "party perfidy and party dishonor." He pronounced sugar a legitimate subject for taxation, in spite of the "fear, quite likely exaggerated," that carrying out this principle might "indirectly and inordinately encourage a combination of sugar refining interests." The motion against concurrence passed the House.



A. P. GORMAN

In conference the chief controversy was upon sugar, coal, wool, iron ore, pig and structural iron, and steel rails. The Senate proposed a forty per cent. duty on all grades of sugar, with a differential of one-eighth of a cent per pound in favor of refined sugar, adding one-tenth of a cent more if it came from countries paying an exorbitant bounty. The Republicans

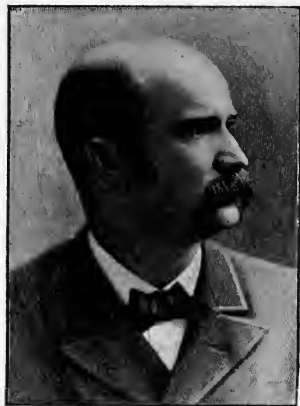
THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

contended that free coal and iron ore would mean a gift of \$10,000,000 to a Nova Scotia corporation and its Boston promoters. Mr. Gorman indignantly flung back the aspersions of the President's letter read in the House, showing, by the testimony of three Senators, that when consulted about the compromise the President had declared himself "willing to do or say anything that would pass the bill." Voting upon iron ore and coal, the Senate emphatically refused to recede from its wish as uttered in the bill. That indicated its attitude touching the other disputed rates. In this conflict the Senate had great advantage over the House. Acquaintance among members, general and often close, was supplemented "by senatorial courtesy" in reference to executive appointments, so that an affront to one was the concern of all. The Senate's self-esteem had been incurably wounded, while the stock of effective White House influence had been depleted during the silver debate. Instead, therefore, of crushing the senatorial will, presidential hammering rendered it solid as a drop forging. When this became clear panic seized the House leaders, and they hastened to enact the Senate draft, covering their retreat as best they could with "pop-gun bills" for free coal, iron ore, barbed wire and sugar. Rarely has an executive been in so merciless a dilemma as now tormented the Chief Magistrate. By signing the bill he would give his official approval to a measure which he had denounced in the severest language at his command. His veto, on the other hand, leaving the McKinley act in force, would be a confession of Democratic hypocrisy and incompetency. Mr. Cleveland, therefore, neither signed nor vetoed the bill, but let it become a law without bearing his name.

Like the tariff of abominations in 1828, this new law, agitation over which had so long impeded business, was an economic monstrosity. It pleased nobody. It violated the Democrats' plighted word, and it did this to enhance the profits of great corporations and by votes believed to have been

INCOME TAX UNCONSTITUTIONAL

purchased. Its best friends could only say that, as its rates averaged perhaps a quarter lower, it was on the whole preferable to the McKinley act. When it was under debate in the Senate, Senator Hill had declared the proposed income-tax unconstitutional, unnecessary and populist. It was a direct tax, he said, and could therefore be constitutionally levied only State by State and according to population. He decried it as sectional, and also odious, being a war tax. He complained that its high under-limit of \$4,000 made it an offensive species of class legislation, that it discriminated against small investments in favor of government bonds, was retroactive upon incomes realized after January 1, 1894, inquisitorial in its administrative provisions, a step toward socialism, and unwise in every point of political expediency. Nevertheless, as in the House so in the Senate, the income-tax amendment proved stronger than the main bill.



DAVID B. HILL

When the Supreme Court decided its income-tax provisions unconstitutional, disgust at the legislation became general and complete. It was now clear that the law must fail as a revenue measure, necessitating either additional enactments or the issue of more bonds to eke out current expenses. The latter alternative was adopted. Between February 1, 1894, and the beginning of 1896, the Treasury sold \$162,315,400 in bonds for about \$182,000,000 in gold. On January 6, 1895, a new bond issue of \$100,000,000 was offered. Apologists for the tariff sought to make it appear that the necessity for these bond issues lay not in deficient revenue, but solely in the existence of the greenback debt, but it gradually became evident that this was an error. During the twenty-three months between the two bond sales named, the Government's

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

receipts fell short of its expenditures by some \$90,000,000. To this extent at least borrowing would have been necessary had no greenbacks existed. As for the remainder, men urged, it should not have been borrowed at all. Had an insignificant percentage of a payment made in redemption of Treasury notes occasionally been in silver, according to the French policy, exporters would have drawn their gold from banks, leaving the Treasury gold piles and the government credit intact. Many insisted that borrowing gold abroad largely defeated its own end. It inflated prices here, stimulating imports and checking exports, thus increasing the demand for gold for export, necessitating fresh drafts from the Treasury stock, and so on in ceaseless round. The manner of effecting the loan of 1895, as well as the loan itself, was severely criticised. Instead of borrowing from any and all who might wish to lend, the bonds were placed with a syndicate of bankers, partly foreign, at a rate, it was charged, much under what they might have brought. The inordinate gain was declared necessary to remunerate the syndicate for its good offices in preventing for some months serious exportations of gold. This was a confession that, under this policy, the Treasury was at the mercy of gold-mongers. If they could keep gold here for a given consideration, for a higher reward they could presently send it abroad and place us on a silver basis.

The last five sections of the tariff act declared combinations in restraint of competition illegal and void, property belonging to them liable to forfeiture, and persons injured by them entitled to threefold damages plus cost and attorney fees. These provisions did not render the legislation any more popular. They enraged monopolists, yet were too tame, too obviously ineffectual to please others. Such anti-trust utterances were, however, of interest, as calling special attention to that peculiar growth of modern industry, the "combine." Officers of the American Sugar Refining Company admitted before the Senate Investigating Committee that this Trust,

DOWNFALL OF THE LOUISIANA LOTTERY

when formed, raised the price of sugar to consumers, and that it was constantly making efforts to control legislation. Though conspicuous, the Sugar Trust was no unique phenomenon in the United States, nor was this country the sole field where the institution flourished. Though these "com-bines" were a normal product of modern industry, they needed keen legislative attention. The crimes to which some of them resorted to crush out competition were unworthy of civilization, making it not strange that legislation against them should be constantly urged and attempted. Laws passed for this purpose were, however, usually of little avail.

President Cleveland displayed commendable independence of a great moneyed interest in unhesitatingly signing the Anti-Lottery Bill, which the indomitable energy and persistence of Professor S. H. Woodbridge, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, had carried through Congress in spite of perhaps the most powerful and enterprising lobby influence ever organized. When it was learned that the lottery company was operating from Honduras throughout the United States by means of the express companies, a bill was introduced in Congress making this illegal. It soon got through the Senate, but the House passed it only two days before the dissolution of the Fifty-third Congress. Having been slightly amended, it returned to the Senate, where it barely escaped strangulation. The amendments were concurred in, but a motion was at once entered to reconsider the vote to concur. This stopped the bill from going to the engrossing clerk to be prepared for the official signatures. Many thought further effort useless, but it proved otherwise. A motion to take up the motion to reconsider was met by a threat that, owing to the brevity of Congress's remaining life, the appropriation bills would completely fail if any other matter were brought before the Senate. The motion to take up reconsideration was lost. It was now eleven o'clock, night. But

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

thirteen hours remained for action. At three in the morning the lost motion was made again, followed instantly by one to table the motion to reconsider. This could not be debated and was at once carried. The Anti-Lottery Bill had passed, and it was speedily enrolled. The question now was how to secure the signatures which should make it law. The Vice-President signed at 10.50 in the forenoon, but it took some time yet for the document to reach the Executive Mansion. The Chief Magistrate's signature was affixed to it barely five minutes before twelve, the moment when that Congress expired.

With his party and the people at large Mr. Cleveland's foreign policy was for a long time even less popular than his procedure touching tariff and finance. His ratification of an extradition treaty with Russia was violently criticised, as also his refusal to press Turkey for the humane treatment of Christians in that empire. When, wholly without warrant, a Spanish gunboat fired on the *Alliança*, a United States passenger steamer, off Cuba, many thought our Government indecently dilatory in demanding reparation. When Great Britain occupied Corinto, in Nicaragua, to compel the payment of \$75,000 in reparation for Nicaragua's expulsion of Consul Hatch, an influential paper bitterly assailed the President for permitting this affront to the Monroe Doctrine. Not a few felt that we meanly deferred to Great Britain and even to Nicaragua in dealing with the Bluefields incident in 1894. Republican insurgents in Cuba might control half the island for a year; no hint of recognizing their belligerency emanated from our Executive. These complaints were not wholly partisan; Democrats joined Republicans in viewing Mr. Cleveland's foreign policy, at least till the middle of 1895, as spiritless and "un-American." The severest reprobation met his dealings with Hawaii.

Hawaii consists of twelve islands situated in the Pacific, southwest of California. The influence there of European

HAWAII AND THE MISSIONARIES



THE QUEEN'S BUNGALO AT HONOLULU
Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph

navigators made the way easy for missionaries, who landed upon the islands in 1820. Through the unselfish labors of these men civilization expanded rapidly. "The missionary in such a land is something besides a minister of religion. He represents civilization. He is condemned to be an organ of reform. He could scarce evade, even if he desired, a certain influence in political affairs." The sons of the missionaries, more selfish than their sires, but at first equally influential, roughened Hawaii's upward path by taking the chief offices of state and a rich portion of the land. In 1875 a reciprocity treaty with the United States enormously increased sugar planting, when practically all the sugar land went to foreigners. The new proprietors imported Asiatic and Portuguese labor on the contract system, largely superseding the Kanakas. Seeing wealth spring from the islands as by magic, while his native subjects were excluded from even a dribble of it, filled the King of Hawaii with hatred of foreigners. The native majority in the legislature raised the cry of "Hawaii for the Hawaiians," and rallied to the king, who found himself in the power of a reactionary clique as unprincipled as any of the "missionary party."

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

In 1887, after secret preparations, the progressists marched to the palace under arms and extorted a new constitution, which reduced royal authority to a mere shadow. It made the ministry responsible to the legislature, the House of Nobles elective under a high property qualification; and it gave foreign whites the right to vote. The state's relations with the United States were made more intimate by a renewed reciprocity treaty along with the concession of Pearl Harbor in the Island of Oahu, one of the finest naval stations in the Pacific.

Figuratively as well as literally, the islands were now volcanic. The thin political crust above the molten native element was ruptured when Liliuokalani succeeded her brother Kalakaua as shadow-monarch. Biding her time, this shrewd and unscrupulous woman took advantage of a split in the dominant party to effect a *coup d'état*. Having on January 14, 1893, prorogued the Legislature, she proposed a new constitution, disfranchising non-naturalized whites, and retransferring to the crown the power of making nobles. Under persuasion she modified her purpose, giving out a proclamation that "any changes in the fundamental law would be sought only by methods provided in the (old) Constitution." Much excitement attended these events and none knew what might happen next. American residents appointed a Committee of Safety, which, on consultation with Minister Stevens, petitioned the United States man-of-war *Boston*, lying at Honolulu, for protection. The troops landed sooner than most of the committee expected or desired, giving some color to the allegation that this act really caused the revolution. The Queen's Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Governor of the island protested, solemnly assuring all that the old Constitution would be upheld and no changes made save by the method therein provided. Later the same day the Cabinet called upon the American Minister for the aid of the United States in suppressing the revolt. On the afternoon of January 17th the "citizens and residents of the Hawaiian Islands organized and

U. S. PROTECTORATE DISAVOWED

acting for the public safety and common good," declared the monarchy abrogated and a provisional government established, "until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon." The Committee organized as a Provisional Government, which the United States Minister at once recognized as the *de facto* government of the country. Sanford B. Dole, the new President, requested the immediate support of United States forces in preserving order. The Queen, assured by members of the Provisional Government that her case would be strengthened by peaceful submission, though under protest, surrendered "to the superior forces of the United States of America."

Opposed by certain of the white inhabitants, also, naturally, by the bulk of the natives, the Government, on February 1st, formally placed itself under the protectorate of the United States. Early in the morning a force of our marines was drawn up before the Government building, and the Stars and Stripes were hoisted. Minister Stevens sent home a despatch, saying: "The

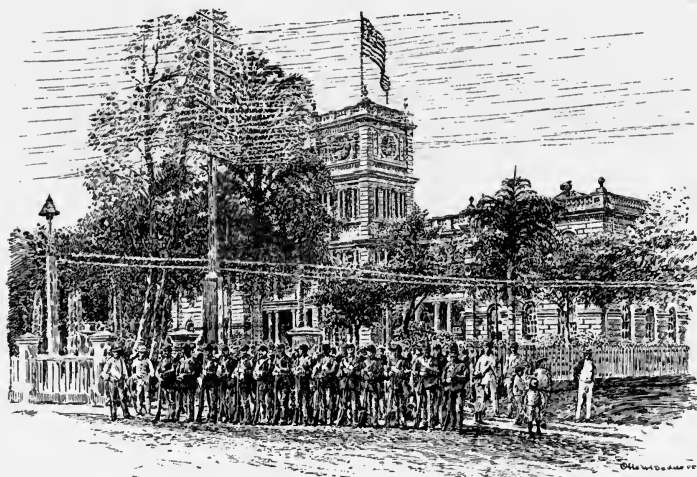
Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe, and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it." On February 11th President Harrison disavowed the protectorate, though authorizing the presence on land of such marine force as



PRINCESS (AFTERWARDS QUEEN)
LILIUOKALANI

*From a photograph made at Honolulu; in the possession of
Mrs. Isobel Strong*

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



THE GOVERNMENT BUILDING AT HONOLULU

Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph

might be necessary to secure the lives and property of American citizens. The flag, nevertheless, still floated, and the American garrison was maintained until after the Democratic Administration came into power, March 4th, the marines of the *Boston* parading through the Honolulu streets thrice each day. A steamer was hastily chartered to carry commissioners to negotiate annexation. A treaty was soon concluded. It provided for the continuance of the existing government and laws of Hawaii, subject to the paramount authority of the United States, to be vested in the person of a commissioner, with power to veto any acts of the local government. The United States was to take over the public debt of \$2,250,000, paying an annual allowance of \$20,000 to Liliuokalani and a lump sum of \$150,000 to her daughter. In his message submitting the treaty President Harrison declared that the United States had in no way promoted the overthrow of the monarchy, that it was evidently effete and should not be restored even if it could be. He declared it "essential that none of the other great powers should secure the islands."

On succeeding Harrison, Cleveland entirely changed this

VAIN EFFORTS TO RESTORE LILIUOKALANI

policy. Withdrawing the treaty from the Senate, he sent to Hawaii Hon. James H. Blount, of Georgia, as Special Commissioner bearing paramount authority, to make investigations touching all our relations with the Hawaiian Government. On April 1st, by Blount's direction, the protectorate was formally terminated, the American flag hauled down, and the garrison of marines withdrawn. In May, Mr. Blount was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary, Stevens being recalled. But during its days under the American ægis the Provisional Government had much strengthened its hands. It had mustered a force of 1,200 soldiers, acquired control of all arms and explosives in the islands, enacted alien and sedition laws, suppressed disloyal newspapers, and decreed that anyone speaking against the Provisional Government should be liable to a fine of \$100 and to imprisonment for thirty days.

Complete as was the Dole government's *de facto* status, Mr. Cleveland, viewing the revolution as due to improper United States influence, sent Albert S. Willis as Minister to the Islands, with instructions looking to a restoration of the Queen. But for her stubbornness this would probably have occurred. Quite long enough to show her spirit, she refused her consent to amnesty, insisting on the execution of the chief conspirators and the banishment of their families. Moreover, the Provisional Government declined Willis's request that they "relinquish to the Queen her constitutional authority." President Dole denied that the Queen owed her downfall to the interference of American forces. "The revolution," he said, "was carried through by the representatives, now largely reinforced, of the same public sentiment which forced the monarchy to



JAMES H. BLOUNT

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



ALBERT S. WILLIS

its knees in 1887, which suppressed the insurrection of 1889, and which for twenty years had been battling for representative government in this country." Without the sanction of Congress Mr. Cleveland could not use force, and such sanction he could not obtain. On the contrary, that body, like the country at large, bitterly opposed the Administration's Hawaiian policy. The progressive element in Hawaii was therefore safe. An insurrection was attempted, resulting in loss of life, but it proved abortive, almost farcical. Being arrested, the ex-Queen, for herself and her heirs, forever renounced the throne, gave allegiance to the republic, counselled her former subjects to do likewise, and besought clemency for her co-conspirators. Of these the chief were sentenced to death, but their sentence was commuted to a fine of \$10,000 each with thirty-five years imprisonment. On December 27, 1893, Prince Kuniakea wrote to the *Hawaiian Star*: "Permit me as the last representative of the Kamehameha line to say that I am with you heart and soul for annexation. My name will be added to the roll of the Annexation Club at once, and in case of trouble I will join your forces with a rifle." The numerous Portuguese in Honolulu were a unit in favor of the republic and of annexation. Minister Willis himself declared "an analysis of the list of the Queen's special advisers not encouraging to the friends of good government or American interests." "The Americans," he said, "were ignored, and other nationalities, English especially, placed in charge." He further remarked that the Provisional Government and its supporters consisted of men of "high character" and "large commercial interests."

A firmer spirit pervaded the State Department after Sec-

THE VENEZUELA MESSAGE

retary Gresham's death, in May, 1895, and the promotion of Attorney-General Richard Olney to his portfolio. The vigor shown by Mr. Olney when Attorney-General, in enforcing law and order during the Chicago strike, he now displayed in conducting foreign affairs. With a boldness going to the extreme limit of diplomacy he insisted, on the ground of the Monroe Doctrine and of our essential sovereignty upon this continent, that Great Britain should submit to arbitration a long-standing boundary dispute with Venezuela. This being refused, Mr. Cleveland on December 17, 1895, sent to Congress a startlingly bold message on the subject, which rent the air like a thunderbolt. A declaration of war could hardly have produced more commotion. After recommending the creation of a commission to determine and report upon "the true divisional line between Venezuela and British Guiana," he said: "When such report is made and accepted, it will, in my opinion, be the duty of the United States to resist, by every means in its power, as a willful aggression upon its rights and interest, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands, or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory which, after investigation, we have determined of right belong to Venezuela."

The two branches of Congress vied with each other in rallying to the President's support. The Commission was provided for at once, by an act unanimously passed in both houses, neither pausing to refer it to a committee. Wall street, however, took the other side. It was estimated that American securities fell in value from \$300,000,000 to \$500,000,000, in consequence of the message. The Treasury's gold reserve lessened ominously. In three days the war message



RICHARD OLNEY

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

had to be followed by another begging for legislation to preserve the national credit. While the President's belligerency met with immense popular applause, it was fiercely criticised in influential quarters. Papers and persons hitherto always friendly to the President now denounced him. Some thought his act a bid for a third term in the presidency; others said he was aping President Jackson and seeking to atone for his record in the Hawaii affair. Not a few, wishing "peace at any price," argued in effect that such a message would be a



CHARLES H. PARKHURST
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crime no matter what Great Britain might do. Sober persons in great numbers believed that, while the time and the tone of the message might perhaps leave something to be desired, its deliverance would be found, when all the facts and diplomacy concerning the case became known, to have been patriotic and wise.

The reader has by this time no difficulty in accounting for the vast political changes which rendered the Fifty-fourth Congress overwhelmingly Republican. Yet the account would

be defective were we to omit the revelations made through the famous Lexow Committee in 1894, showing that New-York City, under Tammany Hall, was ruled by "a compact of free-booters." The New York City Society for the Prevention of Crime was organized in October, 1878, to remove "the causes and sources of crime by enforcement of the laws and arousing public opinion, especially in regard to the excise laws, gambling and public nuisances." Dr. Howard Crosby and the venerable Peter Cooper were among the incorporators. In 1892, six months after joining the Society, Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, D.D., became its second president. Co-operating with the New York Police Department,

PARKHURST AND THE LEXOW COMMITTEE

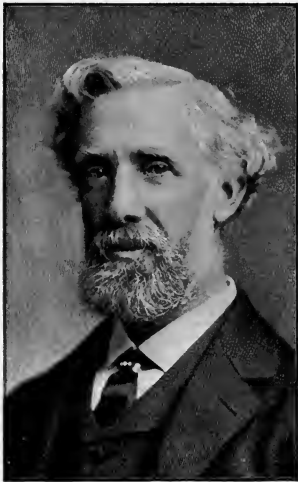
the society had hitherto failed of flattering achievements. Before accepting the office the new leader insisted that his associates should deal with the Force "as its arch-antagonist." The New York press had long teemed with charges against the department, but the community, half credulous, indifferent, or resigned and hopeless, only stirred uneasily. It was the crisis of a grave disease. Nearly a year later Dr. Parkhurst delivered from his pulpit an unsparing philippic against the administration of the city police force. Others at once took up the criticism. People awoke to hear the city officials, particularly those of the Police Department, fiercely attacked as "a damnable set of administrative bloodhounds." Newspapers dilated upon the startling prevalence of gambling and prostitution. As usual, the police called for "proof." This Dr. Parkhurst and agents of his society supplied in abundance by personal visits to dives and dens in various precincts. Such a bold course at first brought upon Parkhurst the bitterest denunciation. Some of his detectives suffered personal violence. But the opposition soon combined with the exposures to bring the brave clergyman the resistless support of public opinion and of a nearly unanimous press. On January 25, 1894, the New York City Chamber of Commerce, concerning itself with municipal politics for the first time in its history, asked for the appointment of a legislative committee to investigate the government of New York City. On January 30th the Senate unanimously appointed the Lexow Committee. The Committee sat most of the time from February till December.

The metropolis inclined to scout the competency of "hayseed legislators" to deal with her problems, while the up-country looked across the Harlem with more sorrow and jealousy than pride, longing to redeem the *imperium in imperio* from its wickedness and its Democracy—both, to the prevailing mind, embodied in the Tammany tiger. Though there was an exodus of criminals from the city, and though many of those remaining were intimidated and cajoled to prevent

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

their testifying, the Committee obtained ample evidence of deplorable misgovernment. Their success was largely due to the skill and boldness of their counsel, John W. Goff. Like Charles O'Connor, who did so much to crush the Tweed ring, Mr. Goff was an Irish Catholic. Once, as a green immigrant, he had handled packing-boxes in the day time, while studying law at Cooper Union in the evening. As Assistant District Attorney he had thoroughly learned how to trace the devious ways of criminals. He threw himself into the Committee's work with heart and soul, devoting to it each day and much of each night, and showed wonderful astuteness and pertinacity in marshalling and presenting his evidence.

It was but natural that Mr. Goff should at times be unfair in his treatment of witnesses. Many no doubt suffered in consequence. In some cases ignorant and vicious witnesses, impelled by love of publicity, gave testimony to suit the demand, having scant regard for facts. Some people thought that this vitiated the entire inquest. They were mistaken, however, as was shown by the obvious reluctance with which the majority of the witnesses testified. The worst facts



JOHN W. GOFF

elicited came out in spite of manifest effort at concealment, forced by relentless cross-examination. Under Goff's artful coercion, creatures curious, ugly, pitiable, were drawn squirming from the depths of their abandonment to unwonted daylight, and compelled to relate what they had seen and done in darkness. Not a few high officials were compromised. In all sixty-seven men were accused of crime, on evidence sufficient in most cases to warrant indictments. Of these, two were Commissioners, two ex-Commis-

STARTLING CORRUPTION EXPOSED

sioners, three inspectors, one an ex-inspector, twenty captains, two ex-captains, seven sergeants, six detective-sergeants and detectives, twelve ward men and ex-ward men, and twelve patrolmen.

Bohemian saloon-keepers had organized a special society for the business of collecting and paying to the police on behalf of the members, bribes for protection, perhaps at wholesale rates. It appeared that some six hundred policy shops were running in the city without police interference. One keeper of a disorderly house had paid the police \$25,000 to be let alone. Liquor-saloon and opium-joint keepers, harlots, green-goods men, bunco-steerers, thieves and abortionists, regularly paid the police to overlook their offences. While criminals were sedulously protected, honest business people had to pay roundly to secure any police service at all. One steamship line had paid thousands of dollars extortion money. Merchants must either give blackmail or be persecuted out of business. Restaurant keepers, fruit venders, newspaper peddlers—none were too humble to have to suffer in the same way. Between virtue and vice, riches and poverty, the police force was as impartial as death itself. Police brutality was exposed by trembling victims. A poor Russian woman who had opened a cigar store was pounced upon for \$100 of "protection money," under the pretext that she meant to open a disorderly house. She gave her persecutors all the money she had, but it was not enough, and she was locked up. When discharged she sought in vain for her babes, who had been torn from her. A fortnight later three bright-looking children were brought before the committee. Being led forward to see if she recognized them, the agonized mother caught them in her arms and smothered them with kisses, alternately laughing, weeping and making vain efforts to express her gratitude. Many policemen confessed that they had been forced to pay for promotion, and were regularly taxed for the satrapies farmed out to them. It was shown how this wealth mounted

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

higher and still higher, till it disappeared in the clouds, above which the "Grand Pantata" was suppose to dwell.

Such revelations, astonishing in themselves and brought out with dramatic and telling force by the skillful cross-examiner, aroused indignation the like of which New York had never seen before, even in Tweed's days. Innumerable dinners and receptions were given in Dr. Parkhurst's honor. The Union League Club elected him to its circle. A large fund was raised for a suitable memorial of his fidelity to reform. For the autumn municipal election of 1894, a Committee of Seventy citizens nominated an able reform ticket. Supported by the Republican Party, the State Democracy, the Independent County Organization, the Anti-Tammany Democracy, the German-American Reform Union, and the confederated Good Government Clubs, this ticket swept the city electing William L. Strong to the mayoralty.

The politics of the year considered in this chapter were in many parts of the country influenced, in some quarters determined by an organization which reminded mature persons of old Knownothing days, particularly of the ancient cry, "Put none but Americans on guard."

A letter from one Foster to J. G. Blaine in 1875 was published, declaring that a "potent faction" in the next Republican convention would be the "secret anti-Catholic order," the United American Mechanics, which Blaine ought to join, as "Grant was a member" and "no doubt relied upon it to promote his aims." Whether this order had aught to do with the rise of that about to be named is not apparent. In 1887, at Clinton, Iowa, was born a secret society commonly known as the



WILLIAM L. STRONG

RISE OF THE A. P. A.

"A. P. A.," its full name being "The American Protective Association." The reasons which its supporters as signed for its origination were :

"1. That the spirit of the Constitution was being violated in various ways by certain persons and bodies in the United States.

"2. That certain members and sections of the national Government were in connivance with the said violators.

"3. That the conditions governing our national immigration were such as to weaken our Democratic institutions and form of government and to substitute therefor a system of government not in harmony therewith.

"4. That the immigrant vote, under the direction of certain ecclesiastical institutions, had become so dominant a factor in politics as virtually to control it.

"5. That this domination had resulted in political prostitution, corruption and favoritism of the worst kind.

"6. That the great majority of the American people, while painfully cognizant of the sinister and debasing results of these conditions and desirous of mending them, were either ignorant of any efficient means of counter-organization, or fearful of injury to their personal interests at the hands of their powerful and organized opponents."

In their public declarations they said : "We attack no man's religion so long as he does not attempt to make his religion an element of political power. We are in favor of preserving constitutional liberty and maintaining the government of the United States. We regard all religio-political organizations as the enemies of civil and religious liberty."

The order drew inspiration from the inveterate hostility of many Protestants to the Roman Catholic Church, based partly on pure bigotry, partly upon facts, more or less imperfectly understood, in the history of that Church. The belief that the Roman policy never underwent change led many to suppose that the enormities of barbarous ages would be re-enacted

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

here surely as Catholicism obtained power. There was no doubt that the Catholic clergy as a body disliked the American common school system. Many of their number had said the most bitter things against it. Romanists who could not in conscience avail themselves of the public schools complained of their share of school taxes. In places efforts were made to support Catholic parochial schools out of the public treasury. Elsewhere Catholics demanded a division of school funds between Catholics and Protestants, such as prevailed in



CARDINAL SATOLLI

provinces of Canada. The autocratic and foreign control of the Church was disliked as un-American and anti-American. The appointment of Cardinal Satolli as papal delegate hither, with headquarters at Washington, impressed many as an effort to constitute the United States a papal satrapy. Some minds were distressed that the State of New York should be made a District in Catholic geography.

Causes apart from the Church and its doing were also active in recruiting the Association. Most American Catholics were Irish, a race naturally prone to politics, often clanish and bumptious, sometimes belligerent, evoking strong ill-will. It was remembered how, until Mayor Hewitt's time, the Irish flag floated from New York City Hall on St. Patrick's Day, and how Mayor A. Oakey Hall in a green coat on that day reviewed a Hibernian parade. Many undesirable immigrants of various nationalities were Catholics, and the aversion felt toward them was not unnaturally transferred to the account of their Church. Again, most Catholics were Democrats, though by no means all, whence uncompromising Republicans hated the Church as the ally of a political foe. Catholics alleged that railroad managers encouraged the A. P. A. movement as

OPPOSITION TO ANTI-CATHOLICISM

a means of dividing the forces of labor. Severe treatment here and there, as always happens in such cases, greatly assisted to advance the cause. It was said that newsboys hawking A. P. A. papers in Chicago were beaten by thugs from the saloons and for a long time were not protected by the police. At length, however, aroused public sentiment forced the roundsmen to see justice done. Subterranean methods, so distasteful to most, drew to the A. P. A. politicians and other supporters of a certain class.

In 1894, seven years from its foundation, the American Protective Association pretended to control 2,000,000 votes, though no data were given by which the assumption could be tested. The Association's power in many western cities was as undoubted as Catholic domination in many eastern cities. The actual membership was acknowledged to be small. While, it was said, hundreds of thousands sympathized with its aim, according to their passive or, where they could, their active support, only a small percentage dared brave the storm of disaster that, owing to opposition by the Catholics, inevitably followed actual membership.

Catholic abuse, however, could not have been the sole cause for the slenderness of the Association's avowed support. A. P. A. methods deserved severe reprobation; and they received this even from many who certainly had little enough love for the Catholics. The allegations made by A. P. A. lecturers were usually immoderate, sometimes scandalously false. Their references to history were often sorrily garbled. A. P. A. newspapers, or newspapers in that interest—for the Order denied having any organs—were sedulous in disseminating forgeries and falsehoods about the Catholics, so clumsy and transparent that it was surprising they gained credence anywhere. The secret oath of the Order, which soon transpired, also set people in a hostile frame of mind. It consisted of a promise (1) never to favor or aid the nomination, election or appointment of a Roman Catholic to any political office, and

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*Statue of Marquette in Statuary Hall,
Washington, D. C.*

(2) never to employ a Roman Catholic in any capacity if the services of a Protestant could be obtained. The Order was thus founded upon proscription and the boycott. It sounded strange when its President, as a reason for the secrecy of the Association, pleaded that, owing to Catholic boycotting, "nearly every member who made himself prominent in the movement retired absolutely ruined in politics and purse." Soon as the A. P. A. acquired power in any locality, or bade fair to acquire it, a class of politicians sought to convert it into a machine auxiliary to the Republican party. Such efforts uniformly brought the cause additional discredit. An endeavor being made to have a statue of Père Marquette, the Jesuit explorer, placed in Statuary Hall in the Capitol at Wash-

ington, the A. P. A. was mean enough to use its influence against the granting of permission. Fortunately its effort was unsuccessful. The Mayor of Denver having, it was said, sworn the A. P. A. oath under a misapprehension, afterward appointed a Roman Catholic chief of police. For that act his photograph, draped in black and labeled "Perjurer and Traitor," was hung in the A. P. A. council chamber. It was furthermore resolved, "That wherever his carcass repose in the arms of mother earth, in whatsoever land, an unknown committee, duly appointed, shall perform its last rite in the name of this council by marking the place, that all may know, 'Here Lies a Traitor.'"

CHAPTER XI

THE CHICAGO STRIKE—THE CALIFORNIA “OCTOPUS”—INDIANS’ LAND IN SEVERALTY

CLEVELAND NO POPULIST.—“INDUSTRIALS” AND “GENERAL” COXEY.—THEIR MARCH.—ARRIVAL IN WASHINGTON.—ARRESTS AND PROSECUTIONS.—THE REMNANT DISBAND.—THE TOWN OF PULLMAN.—THE PULLMAN COMPANY.—WEALTH AND BUSINESS.—THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION.—THE GENERAL MANAGERS’ ASSOCIATION.—A. R. U. FIGHT WITH THE GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY.—THE PULLMAN STRIKE.—“NOTHING TO ARBITRATE.”—PULLMAN CARS BOYCOTTED.—EUGENE V. DEBS.—STRIKERS AND HOODLUMS.—PROPERTY LOOTED.—WORKMEN “PERSUADED” NOT TO REPLACE STRIKERS.—BLOOD DRAWN AT HAMMOND.—PARTIAL SYMPATHETIC STRIKE OF THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.—DEBS AND OTHER OFFICERS ARRESTED.—COLLAPSE OF THE STRIKE.—THE COSTS.—ALTGELD *vs.* CLEVELAND ON THE PRESENCE OF FEDERAL SOLDIERS IN CHICAGO.—A SNUB TO THE NATIONAL GUARD.—THIS A POWERFUL FORCE.—IMPROVEMENTS IN IT AFTER 1877.—NEW AND DANGEROUS APPLICATIONS OF COURT INJUNCTIONS.—COULD THERE BE A LEGAL STRIKE?—THE STRIKE COMMISSION.—FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.—STRIKE OF 1894 IN CALIFORNIA.—RAILWAY MONOPOLY.—CONSEQUENCES.—ARGUMENTS IN EXTENUATION.—PER CONTRA.—THE REILLY BILL.—EFFORTS FOR RELIEF.—THE PROJECTED SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY ROAD.—INDIANS’ LANDS IN SEVERALTY.—BREAKING UP THE TRIBAL SYSTEM.—HISTORY OF THE RISE AND MARCH OF THE SEVERALTY IDEA IN THE UNITED STATES FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES.—COMMISSIONERS E. P. SMITH, J. Q. SMITH, E. A. HAYT.—THE ENACTMENT OF 1887.—AMENDED IN 1891.

IF the income tax and anti-trust enactments of 1894 betrayed a Democratic leaning toward populism, events occurring the same year proved that the President, for his part, still stood quite erect.

Discontent had prevailed in the labor world since early in the season. In March, bands of “Commonwealers” or “Industrials,” as they were called, were formed in various Western States, with the purpose of marching to Washington

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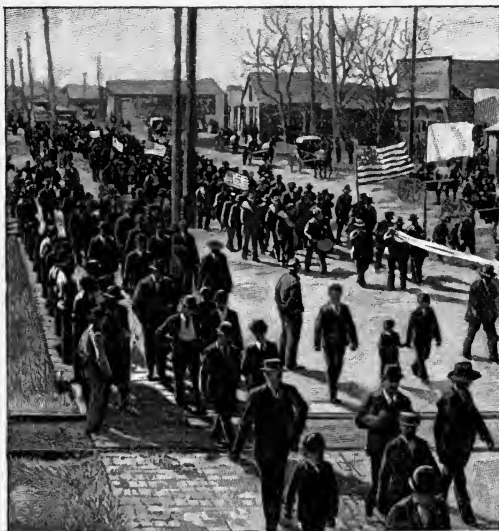


Kelly Addressing the Men at the Transfer. (Eugene V. Debs had just entered the car to welcome Kelly.)

had 1,250 in his train. At St. Louis many deserted him; the rest took boats for Cairo, where they disembarked and resumed their pilgrimage on foot. Though most of the tramps meant well, their mission was so novel and their destitution so complete that they spread terror all along their line of march. For food they depended on the country traversed. Many fed them from sympathy, others from fear. At best they suffered much from hunger and from cold. When not

to show Congress and the President the desperation of the labor situation and to demand relief. From first to last fourteen States and two Territories were in more or less commotion from this movement. "General" Coxey led the advance; "General" Kelly followed with a larger force.

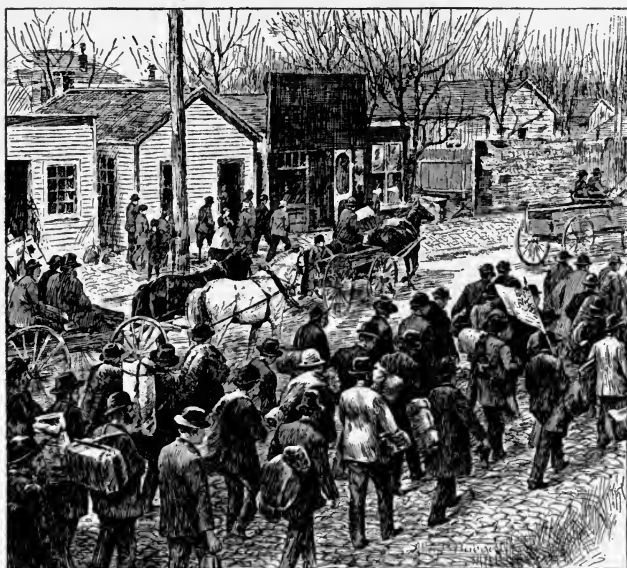
At Des Moines Kelly



The Head of the Column Crossing the Northwestern Railway Tracks on their way to Camp Cbautauqua

THE KELLY "ARMY" AT

THE COMMONWEALERS



Company H—Men who Joined at the Bluffs on the March

supplied with gifts, they stole, and arrests for theft much thinned their ranks as they advanced. At points they were violent, and the militia had to be called out to deal with them. In California a Commonweal general was killed by a town marshal. In a fight with Commonwealers at Fappenish, State of Washington, where the Commonwealers were very lawless, Deputy Marshals Jolly and Chidister were shot, though not fatally. Most of the Washington Commonwealers were tramping simply to get back to their eastern homes, having been drawn to Puget Sound by extensive railway building and been thrown out of work. Here and there they captured freight trains and forced them into their service. Having suffered much from desertion in Ohio, Coxey's band reached Pittsburg April 2d, and Homestead April 5th, only 500 strong. On the 15th, with still dwindling numbers, it was at Cumberland, Md.; on the 28th at Washington, where it went into camp. On May 1st, in the presence of wondering multi-

COUNCIL BLUFFS, IOWA

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



THE TOWN OF PULLMAN
Looking East from the Depot along the Boulevard
From a photograph by J. W. Taylor

tudes, the Industrials attempted their meditated demonstration on the grounds and steps of the Capitol. The instant they set foot upon the Capitol grounds, the leaders, Coxey, Browne and Jones, after being somewhat roughly handled, were arrested and jailed under local laws which forbade treading on the grass or displaying banners within the Capitol precincts. Coxey was released on June 10th, having meantime been nominated for Congress in Ohio. His followers early began to desert, yet a camp of them remained in Washington till July 13th, when the remnant was shipped West.

Meanwhile disturbances far more formidable and unexpected were brewing in the West. Chicago, the city of the World's Fair, was destined soon to become the scene of the greatest strike in history. The very soldier who marshalled the civic parade in 1893, next year, in the same locality, was to array the military against angry citizens. The trouble originated at Pullman, Ill., the town whose miniature was so much admired at the Fair. Pullman had been founded in 1880, 14 miles from the heart of Chicago, but by 1894 it was included within the elastic limits of that city. Its real estate was owned by the Pullman Palace Car Company. Economy,

PULLMAN AND THE PULLMANITES

beauty, cleanliness and symmetry marked the buildings, which were pleasantly set off by lakelets, parks and wide streets. The sale of liquor was not permitted in the town, except to guests at the hotel, but there seem to have been no other municipal regulations. Nevertheless, careful observers early noted in the population a sense of restraint, leading to frequent removals, also a disposition to speak of the company in an undertone, as a Russian might mention the Czar. "It is like living in a hotel, is it not?" was asked a Pullmanite once. "We call it camping out," he answered. Residents believed that they were watched by the company's "spotters." One visitor denominated the system a "benevolent feudalism." Such paternalism offended the American spirit of independence, and herein was a potent cause of the troubles.

Wholly aside from its landlordship of the town of Pullman, the company's business was immense. Its paid-up capital stock had increased from \$1,000,000 to \$36,000,000, whereon, for the year ending with June, 1893, the dividends had amounted to \$2,520,000. In addition, it had accumulated of undivided surplus profits \$25,000,000. It ran cars over 125,000 miles of railroad, or about three-fourths the total mileage of the country. It manufactured and repaired its own cars, besides building cars for the general market. Strikes had been few, small and short till June, 1893, when hard times had set in and the brisk demand for cars in preparation for travel to and from the World's Fair had ceased.

The Palace Car Company therefore at first laid off most of its workmen for a time, then cut their wages from twenty to twenty-five per cent. and employed them less than full time. Other circumstances aggra-



GEORGE M. PULLMAN

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

vated the discontent thus occasioned. There were petty shop tyrannies, rents were not reduced, though leniency was shown such as were in debt for rent, the salaries of officers continued as before, and Pullman stock was still quoted far above par. In the months of March and April, 1894, great numbers of the employés took refuge in the American Railway Union, better known by its initials as the "A. R. U."

This body, claiming 100,000 members, aimed to include all the 850,000 workers in any way connected with railroads in the United States, Canada and Mexico. It had been formed in 1893, indirectly consequent upon railway consolidation, whereby forty-two corporations controlled nearly 100,000 miles, and more directly answering to a combination among railway employers known as the General Managers' Association. This association originated in 1886, and embraced the twenty-four railroads entering Chicago. These had an aggregate mileage of 40,933, a capitalization of considerably over \$2,000,000,000, and employed 220,000 or more men. Though this voluntary unincorporated body "had no more standing in law than the old Trunk Line Pool—but was a usurpation of power," it determined the policy of the roads toward their workmen and the public. A comparative table of wages enabled the associated roads to equalize wages, and cuts here and there showed a tendency to do this. All the time that Pullman employés were enlisting in its ranks the union was engaged in a struggle with the Great Northern Railway. No attempt was made to supply strikers' places and no violence was wrought. Arbitration was proposed, but, sanguine of success, union leaders, until persuaded by St. Paul and Minneapolis business men, "had nothing to arbitrate." A settlement was arrived at, which gave the union nearly all it demanded, and it was elated with the triumph.

Upon May 7th and 9th a committee of forty-six employés called upon Messrs. Pullman and Wickes, urging that the wages schedule of June, 1893, be restored. This was

“NOTHING TO ARBITRATE”

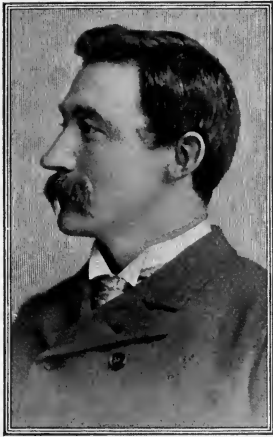
refused, but those gentlemen promised to investigate the shop abuses complained of, and declared that no one should be prejudiced with the company for serving on the committee. The next day, however, three members of the committee were laid off, and five-sixths of the Pullman employes, apparently against the counsel of A. R. U. leaders, determined upon a strike. The company then laid off the remainder of the workmen. The Pullman management would entertain no communication from the union. Mr.



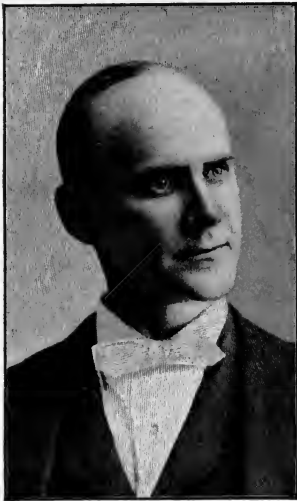
HAZEN S. PINGREE

Wickes, the second vice-president, testified later: "If we were to receive these men as representatives of the union they could probably force us to pay any wages which they saw fit, and get the Pullman company in the same shape that some of the railroads are, by making concessions which ought not to be made." "The best of our men don't give us any trouble with unions or anything else. It is only the inferior men—that is, the least competent—that give us the trouble, as a general thing." A committee of employes, the Civic Federation of Chicago, Mayor Pingree, of Detroit, endorsed by the mayors of over fifty cities, urged the company to submit the dispute to arbitration. The steadfast answer was, "The company has nothing to arbitrate." Nor would it debate this proposition before arbitrators. At the bar of public opinion the company did appear, seeking to justify itself by alleging the unprofitableness of its manufacturing business. The union, too, was resolute. The young giant, flushed with recent victory, eager to redress new wrongs, used to magnanimous dealing, deemed arbitration certain to be granted when due pressure was brought to bear. A national convention of the union unanimously voted that unless the Pullman Company sooner

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JAMES R. SOVEREIGN



EUGENE V. DEBS

consented to arbitration members of the union should, on June 26th, everywhere cease handling Pullman cars. This boycott was sympathetic in origin, while yet it could be traced to wages reductions, blacklisting, and the ominous growth and attitude of the Managers' Association. Once begun, it assumed portentous dimensions, far beyond the expectations or control of its leaders, paralyzing nearly every railway west of Ohio.

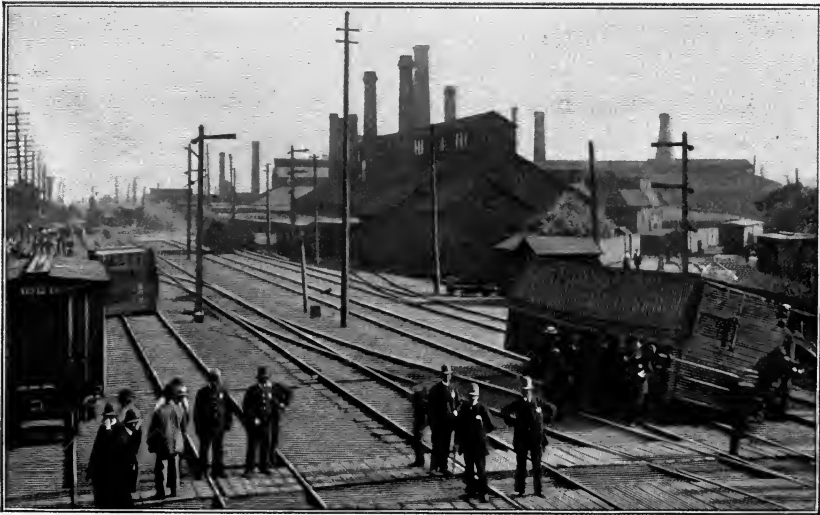
On June 29th, Eugene V. Debs, the president of the union, addressed the railroad employés of the country. "The struggle," he wrote, "with the Pullman Company has developed into a contest between the producing classes and the money power of the country. . . . The contest is now on between the railway corporations united solidly upon the one hand, and the labor forces upon the other. . . . I appeal to the strikers everywhere to refrain from any act of violence. . . . A man who will destroy property or violate law is an enemy and not a friend to the cause of labor."

From June 26th to July 3d, the date when troops arrived, there was, indeed, no uncontrolled violence in the city. Turbulent scenes followed an injunction issued July 2d, to prevent Railway Union men from "inducing" employés to strike. Spite of Federal and State troops, deputy marshals and city police, thousands of angry men and women now fell to burning

VIOLENCE AT CHICAGO

and looting property. Over two thousand cars were demolished or robbed and miles of track torn up. Workmen replacing strikers continued to be "persuaded" by fair means and foul. Interlocking systems of track, also switches and engines were deftly rendered useless. The Managers' Association was widely believed to be hiring men to do these things in order to pervert public opinion.

Organized labor was at fault in not having done its utmost to purge its ranks of those who in a strike resorted to violent measures. Nor were the wealthy and respectable blameless, as they had brought contempt upon law and government by corruptly promoting or defeating legislation, and evading or violating law with impunity, through bribery and otherwise. It was wholly labor's misfortune that its blows must be struck in presence of an irresponsible and highly explosive element, usually quite distinct from the strikers themselves, which social conditions have developed in our cities. In 1894 the tide ebbing after the World's Fair had left stranded in Chicago many representatives of this semi-criminal class.



FREIGHT CARS OVERTURNED BY THE STRIKERS
From a photograph by R. D. Cleveland

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



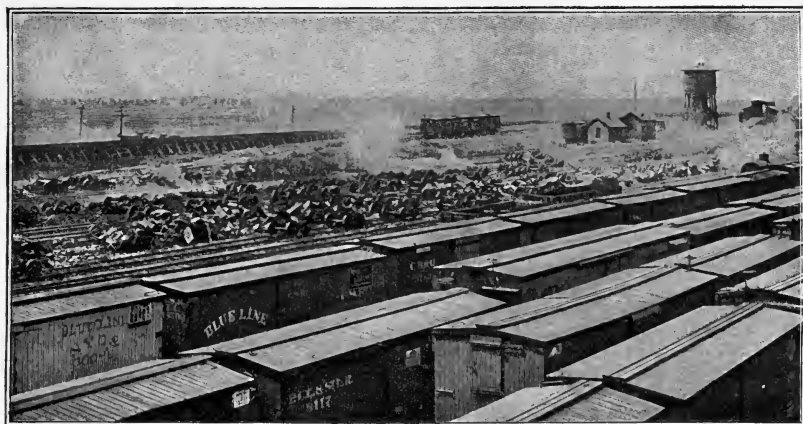
CAMP OF THE U. S. TROOPS ON THE LAKE FRONT, CHICAGO
(From the roof of the Auditorium Hotel)

From a photograph by R. D. Cleveland

On July 7th the soldiers received orders, in case of any act like firing upon railroad trains, or assaulting trainmen, marshals or soldiers, to repel these assaults by the use of fire-arms. Next day a bloody conflict occurred at Hammond, Ind., one employ   being killed by the mob and four wounded. At the Monon depot thirty-five regulars, amid ugly hoots and hisses, long kept a vast crowd at bay. Several passenger trains were successfully pulled out, which frenzied the mob. Sticks and stones flew. The hoodlums charged, were forced back by bayonets, then rallied and made another rush, when twelve or fifteen of them were shot down.

On July 10th, Sovereign, their General Master Workman, bade the Knights of Labor "lay down the implements of toil for a short season and under the banner of peace, and with a patriotic desire to promote the public welfare, use the powers of their aggregate numbers, through peaceable assemblages, to create a healthy public sentiment in favor of an amicable settlement of the issues growing out of the strike." In the East the Knights ignored this order, but it was obeyed

COLLAPSE OF THE STRIKE



BURNED CARS IN THE C. B. & Q. YARDS AT HAWTHORNE, CHICAGO

From a photograph by R. D. Cleveland

in Chicago, where industry was half paralyzed already, and also farther west. By the 11th the strike had extended to North Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington, Wyoming and New Mexico, when President Cleveland issued a proclamation calculated to prevent riotous assemblages. On July 17th, Debs, Howard and Keliher, head officers of the Railway Union, were arrested and lodged in jail for contempt in disobeying injunctions of court. On the 19th indictments were found against them and thirty-nine others. The worst was now over. The excesses of lawless men had so effectually alienated public sympathy from Debs and his cause that as soon as these leaders were in durance the strike collapsed.

The number of men involved in this strike, the miles of road it tied up, and the size of the mobs it mustered was greater than in the strike of 1877, but the loss of life was probably less. The property destroyed was also less. "The cost to the State and national government of the Pullman and railroad strike was at least \$1,000,000 for troops. The 1,000,000 employés on the twenty-four roads centering in Chicago lost in wages \$1,389,143, according to the testimony before the Commission, while the Pullman employés

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

lost \$350,000 in wages. The railroads lost in property destroyed, pay of United States Marshals and other incidental expenses, \$685,308 and \$4,673,000 in earnings, while the large loss to shippers and the traveling public, all over the vast strike district of 2,500 miles length from east to west and 1,500 from north to south, it is impossible to estimate.”* That life and capital suffered no more was in great measure due to prompt and decisive though widely unpopular action by the authorities at Washington, exhibiting, in a manner which astonished many, the strength which the central power in our government had gradually acquired. When the federal soldiers appeared in Chicago, Governor Altgeld protested against their presence, declaring his official ignorance of disorder warranting federal intervention, denying the federal authority to send troops thither except upon his request, and asking their withdrawal. Mr. Cleveland answered: “Federal troops were sent to Chicago in strict accordance with the Constitution and laws of the United States, upon the demand of the Post-office Department that obstruction of the mails should be removed, and upon the representation of the judicial officers of the United States that process of the federal courts could not be executed through the ordinary means, and upon abundant proof that conspiracies existed against commerce between the States. To meet these conditions, which are clearly within the province of federal authority, the presence of federal troops in the city of Chicago was deemed not only proper but necessary.”

Others besides Governor Altgeld disrelished the presence of regulars in Chicago. One reason was that at this time the militia, snubbed when the Federal troops marched in, had become, in Illinois as elsewhere, an object of reliance and State pride. The strike of 1877, approximating an insurrection, was followed by preparations to meet future similar disturbances with a more efficient arm than the militia had in that

* *Revue d'Economie Politique.*

RISE OF THE NATIONAL GUARD

crisis proved to be. The Atlantic States first, and ultimately all the States, revised all their militia laws, reorganizing, re-uniforming and disciplining anew the citizen soldiery after the pattern of the regular army. Congress mightily encouraged this movement by making for the militia federal provision of arms, ordnance and quartermaster stores and camp equipage.* After 1887 four hundred thousand dollars was yearly appropriated for this purpose, the sums varying with the size of State delegations—Senators and Representatives—in Congress. All stores obtained by this fund had to be of the regular army standard, and they remained the property of the United States, to be duly accounted for by State governors each year. Officers of the regular army could also be detailed as militia inspectors when States desired them, as most did.

In 1895 over thirty States held weekly drills, while twenty-six States held militia encampments for drill and inspection. In the percentage attending encampment, Vermont, with 96 per cent., was the banner State. Army officers were on duty in thirty-three States, inspecting, advising and giving instruction. The time required for mobilization varied from three hours in the District of Columbia to three days in Oregon, while the proportion of the commands which would probably respond to an emergency ranged from 50 per cent. in Minnesota, Mississippi, Oregon and South Dakota, to 95 per cent. in New York and Pennsylvania. New York, however, supplemented the United States appropriation by a large one of its own, amounting for many years to \$430,000. In nearly half the States the equipment was very good, or at least good. Artillery was nearly everywhere inferior. The total strength of the organized militia, officers and men, amounted in 1895 to 112,879. The term "National Guard" grew in favor as an appellation for the militia, and in that year thirty-six States employed it. Some States introduced a "Naval Reserve,"

* United States Revised Statutes, Section 1661, amended February 11, 1887.

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

which promised well as corresponding on sea to the militia on land. In addition to this active, organized volunteer force, the mass of able-bodied citizens, liable on emergency to military duty, was rated as a division of the militia. The whole number of men in the country available for military duty was, in 1895, over 10,000,000. The improvement in the militia force due to these sweeping changes was incalculable. Arms were still to some extent antiquated and diverse, and the proportions of cavalry and of artillery too small; yet the new National



THE TOWN OF HINCKLEY BEFORE THE FIRE*

Guard was a formidable army, if not comparable with the regulars, almost as little comparable with the old militia which it had displaced.

The timorous indeed saw a menace in the new National Guard and went so far, some of them, as to dub our costly new armories "Plutocracy's Bastiles." But far more alarm was felt, especially among wage-workers at the peculiar uses

* In the early days of September, 1894, destructive fires swept through the pine forests of central and eastern Minnesota. Not far from four hundred square miles were burned over. Hinckley and seven other hamlets were destroyed; some four hundred lives lost, two thousand people left destitute, and about one million dollars worth of property destroyed. (The pictures are from photographs by W. G. Hopps.)

NOVEL USE OF INJUNCTIONS*

to which, after 1887, federal tribunals applied injunctions and process for contempt of court. The judges first construed the Inter-State Commerce Law as authorizing them to enjoin engineers from abandoning trains. Such an injunction being disobeyed, offending workmen and any officers under whose orders they acted were forthwith imprisoned for contempt, no jury trial being had. Early in 1894 a United States Circuit Court injunction forbade Northern Pacific employés to strike in a



HINCKLEY AFTER THE FIRE

body, assuming that the purpose of such an act must be to cripple the road. For contempt of his injunctions issued during the Pullman strike, in December of the same year, Judge Woods sentenced Debs to six months' imprisonment, and the other leaders to three months each, under the so-called "Anti-Trust Law." These novelties aroused indignation among the radicals, and clothed with scowls faces wont to smile upon all measures for disciplining wage-workers. Even the *New York Evening Post* uttered warning against it. Said the *Springfield* (Mass.) *Republican*, after Debs had been sentenced: "This action of the judicial power cannot be allowed to go

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NICHOLAS E. WORTHINGTON

without rebuke. It makes for the subversion of the most fundamental rights of American citizens. If Debs has been violating law let him be indicted, tried by a jury and punished; let him not be made the victim of an untenable court order and deprived of his liberty entirely within the discretion of a judge. The right of trial by jury for criminal offences lies at the bed-rock of free institutions. It cannot be denied without placing the liberty of every citizen in jeopardy.

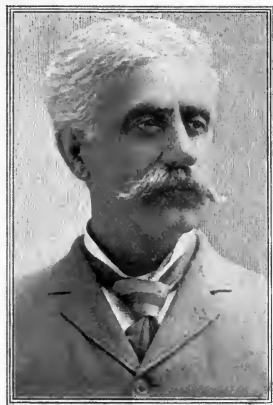
If the precedent now established is to stand, there is no limit to the power which the judiciary may establish over the citizen." In one point, indeed, laborers' rights were maintained. The United States Court of Appeals held that in the absence of an express contract a workman without the right to strike at will "is in a condition of involuntary servitude—a condition which the supreme law of the land declares shall not exist within the United States." This judgment the Supreme Court did not reverse, leaving it to be understood that railroad employes might combine to quit work in a body yet commit no illegal act. But the higher court emphatically affirmed the legitimacy of enjoining violent interference with railroads and of enforcing the injunction by punishing contempt. To be within the law, a strike must be absolutely peaceable.

Late in July, 1894, the President appointed John D. Kernan, of New York, and Nicholas E. Worthington, of Illinois, to serve with Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, as a commission to investigate the nature and causes of the Pullman strike. The Commission spoke of the Managers' Association as "an illustration of the persistent and shrewdly devised plans of corporations to overreach their limitations and to usurp indirectly powers and rights not contemplated in their charters

A STRIKE COMMISSION APPOINTED

and not obtainable from the people or their legislators." They announced the view that, as combination goes on, something approaching governmental control must be exercised over quasi-public corporations. The report even suggested, cautiously, that, at the proper juncture, government ownership might be undertaken. It also noted the fact that "until the railroads set the example, a general union of railroad employ  s was never attempted." It recommended a permanent United States Railroad Strike Commission of three to investigate railway labor difficulties and recommend settlements enforceable by the courts. It urged that labor unions should be encouraged to incorporate, and be required to provide that all members guilty of violence, lawlessness or intimidation forfeit their rights and privileges. The licensing of railway employ  s was mentioned as deserving careful attention. The Commission suggested State boards of conciliation and arbitration like that of Massachusetts, with larger powers, and proposed that contracts requiring men, as conditions of employment, not to join labor organizations, or, if members, to leave them, be made illegal. Federal Judge Ricks, of Cleveland, has for the present (1896) shut the door against this last measure by pronouncing such a law in Ohio unconstitutional and void. Arbitration bills, however, were introduced in several legislatures, and a board, like that of Massachusetts, was provided for in Illinois.

A California public opinion nearly unanimous supported the Pullman strike. In that State any movement "against the railroad" was popular, so that there Kearneyism, treated in a previous chapter, was one scene, and the strike of 1894 another, of the same drama.



J. D. KERNAN

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

Nearly the entire railway system of California, together with the two railroad gateways to the East, was in the hands of the Southern Pacific monopoly. It resulted that, if water competition were also cut off, an independent California dealer could hardly with profit ship goods to or from the East.* This fact in view, the Southern Pacific Company, under the *alias* of the Pacific Mail Company, contracted with the Panama Railroad for exclusive privileges. In consideration of a subsidy varying between \$65,000 and \$110,000 per month, not more than one-sixth of the increased profits accruing to the Southern Pacific from the deal, the isthmus railroad declined to receive freight from independent carriers on the coast. This control of business with the East was enough by itself to place the railroad's hand upon every Californian's pocket, but that was not the worst. The Southern Pacific seemed bent on forcing interior districts to trade with the East, or with Asia, costly as this was, to the detriment of San Francisco. Rates between that city and other points in California were often over twice as high as from New York. Tea direct from Tokio cost inland merchants less than tea from San Francisco. However cheaply goods might reach the Golden Gate, unless they were consigned to some inland point, high freights from San Francisco prohibited them from taking this route. The effect, and obviously also the purpose, of this discrimination was to turn the entire eastern commerce of the coast to New Orleans as its seaport, whence all business to the far West was absolutely monopolized by the Southern Pacific. In most parts of California the question whether one could profitably grow fruit or wheat, or engage in manufacturing or trade, turned entirely upon freight charges. One large ranch-owner vowed that until another railroad was built he would raise nothing that could not carry itself to market on its own legs. A common sight in California, perhaps observed nowhere else in the world, was teams of horses, mules or oxen hauling merchandise in com-

* See *Harper's Weekly*, for March 2, 1895.

CALIFORNIANS AND THE RAILROAD

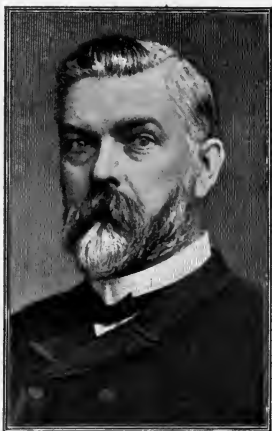
petition with railroad trains. It was true that rates were tending to fall and that some schedules seem to have been reasonable. It was urged that having to maintain long stretches of rails through deserts like those of Nevada, expensive but no more profitable than so much bridge, the railroad must charge all that the traffic would bear. It was true that some Californian manufacturers found high westward freight rates operating as a protective tariff against the East and therefore were not enthusiastic for reducing them. It was also true that the elective State Board of Equalization and the elective Railroad Commission had final authority respectively to assess railroad property and to fix railroad rates. But these Kearneyite-Granger devices had only driven the railroad more deeply into State politics. "All parties have shared in controlling the Railroad Commission, the railroad seems to have controlled all parties." * An apologist for the railroad writes as follows: "They were forced in self-defense to exert their influence in nominating conventions or at the polls, in doing which, it is not to be presumed that their course differed from that of other participants in politics who have large interests affected by the administration of the government. . . . As in Dean Richmond's time in Albany, the corporation has gone forth without the lamp of Diogenes in search of an honest man who would stay bought. That he has successfully dodged it no one believes. That the moral effect is bad no one denies. But the resident observer is impressed by the number who fear they will be missed in the dark and therefore cry out against the 'octopus' to show where they stand." †

But people had no mind to starve for the sake of corporations which had enriched their promoters with millions. The Reilly bill, introduced in Congress in 1894, to refund at two per cent. for fifty years the Southern Pacific's Central Pacific debt of some \$60,000,000, incensed all Cali-

* See *Annals of the American Academy*, Vol. vi., 109.

† See *Overland Monthly* for June, 1895.

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



JAMES FLOOD

fornia. A petition against it, circulated by the San Francisco *Examiner*, received over 200,000 signatures, a number nearly equal to that of all California's voters. Each mail brought Congressmen envelopes bearing red-letter legends such as "*The Grip of the Octopus!*" or "*How Congressmen are Bribed.*" Circulars were inside, many of which, for spirit and bitterness, rivaled Junius.

Numerous schemes for attaining freedom had been considered, and some of them tried. A merchant had to make an enormous shipment East. He was informed that the company "had him in the door and was going to squeeze him." He hired a steamship and sent his goods around the Horn. His rates were subsequently halved. In 1892 the Merchants' Traffic Association of San Francisco put a line of vessels on the Cape Horn route. The monopoly at once deserted its small partner in Panama. The Panama line was taken up by the San Franciscans, who raised a fund of \$300,000 for its maintenance and connected both its ends with speedy steamships. This reduced transcontinental tariffs forty per cent., saving California \$500,000 a month; but when the contract expired, in the spring of 1894, the merchants found that their work had been philanthropic rather than profitable, and they withdrew exhausted. In January, 1895, a meeting of delegates discussed bonding the central counties of California to construct railways within their limits. Next day leading men of wealth in San Francisco called for \$350,000 for a road through the rich San Joaquin Valley, ultimately to connect San Francisco with Southern California and with the Santa Fé railway system. Capitalists and financiers, notably Claus Spreckles and his sons, also James D. Phelan and James Flood, supported the

INDIAN LAND IN SEVERALTY

enterprise, which bade fair to consume millions of dollars instead of thousands. The managing committee announced that "the good, the advancement, the future, the prosperity of the State of California demanded a people's railroad, to be owned by the people, and operated in the interests of the people." The experiment was watched with deep concern, lest this young enterprise should be smothered by the "Octopus." Though a careful plan was devised to prevent this, acute students of the movement and of the events leading to it believed that nothing short of a governmental or State railway system would meet the requirements of California.

Amid the momentous events just narrated, the public for the moment lost sight of a reform set on foot in 1887 despite many unforeseen difficulties. The severalty system in Indian lands already began to bear fruit in 1893 and 1894, and promised a radical advance in the life of our national wards. As a result of this measure many friends of the red man seemed now to foresee the day when the tribal organization, with its inevitable repression of the individual, would be a thing of the past.

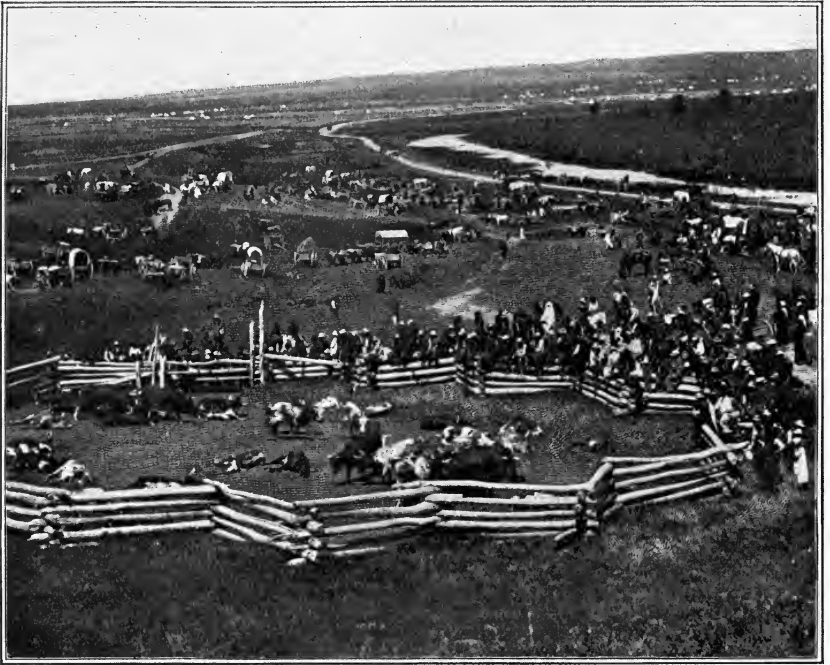
Up to 1887 most Indian communities had no notion of individual land tenure, and no opportunity under the law to change their primitive common occupation of the land. Moreover it was impossible for the aborigines to become citizens, except by abandoning their own race. The obvious mischief of a government policy tolerating such results had been recognized in sundry special laws and treaties which sought to amend it in one or both of its phases.

The earliest known reference to the individual ownership of land by Indians is in an Act of the General Court of Massachusetts, passed in October, 1652, as follows :*

"It is therefore ordered and enacted by this Court and the

* For the history he represented of the rise of the Indians' Land in Severalty System the author is indebted to the politeness of Hon. D. M. Browning, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and to research put forth in his office.

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



INDIANS KILLING CATTLE AT STANDING ROCK, NORTH DAKOTA

From a photograph by Barry

authority thereof, that what landes any of the Indians, within this jurisdiction, have by possession or improvement, by subduing of the same, they have just right thereunto accordinge to that Gen : 1: 28, Chap. 9 : 1, Psa : 115, 16.”

It was further provided that any Indians who became civilized might acquire land by allotment in the white settlements on the same terms as the English.*

The earliest known reference to severalty holding found in any United States treaty with the Indians is in Article 8 of the treaty of July 8, 1817, with the Cherokees,† by which the United States agreed to give a reservation of 640 acres to each and every head of any Indian family residing on the east side of the Mississippi River who might wish to become a citizen

* See Senate Ex. Doc. No 95, 48th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 50.

† 7 United States Statutes, 159.

EARLIEST SEVERALTY LEGISLATION

of the United States. In such reservation holders were to have a life estate, with reversion in fee simple to their children.

The earliest legislation on the subject appears to be the Act of March 3, 1839,* which provided that the reservation of the Brotherton or Brothertown Indians, might be partitioned and divided among the different individuals of the tribe, and held by them in fee simple. The act also provided for the issuance of patents, and for Indian citizenship in terms similar to those of the "Dawes Act" mentioned later (p. 352). The act of 1839 may safely be considered the inception of the modern system of allotments in severalty. An act like it was passed for the Stockbridge Indians March 3, 1843.† A treaty similar in terms was concluded with Wyandotte Indians, April 1, 1850.‡ By the treaty of March 15, 1854, with the "Otoe and Missouri" Indians,§ and also by the treaty of March 16, 1854, with the Omahas,|| the President might parcel from the reservation lands to each single person over 18 years of age one-eighth of a section, and to each family a quantity proportioned to its size. Such allotments were practically inalienable. A number of subsequent treaties included similar provisions, some providing for alienation with consent of the President or Secretary of the Interior, others for patents in fee simple. Some also contemplated the naturalization of the allottees.

Thus far all provisions for the allotment of Indians' lands in severalty were restricted to particular tribes. The first reference to a general system of allotments was in 1873, when Edward P. Smith, then Indian Commissioner, in his Annual Report, mentioned the hindrance to the progress of the Indians "found in a want of individual property-rights among Indians. A fundamental difference between barbarians and a civilized people is the difference between a herd and an individual. All barbarous customs tend to destroy individu-

* Ibid., 5,349.

† Ibid., 5,645.

‡ Ibid., 9,987.

§ Ibid., 10, 1,038.

|| Ibid., 10., 1,044.

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

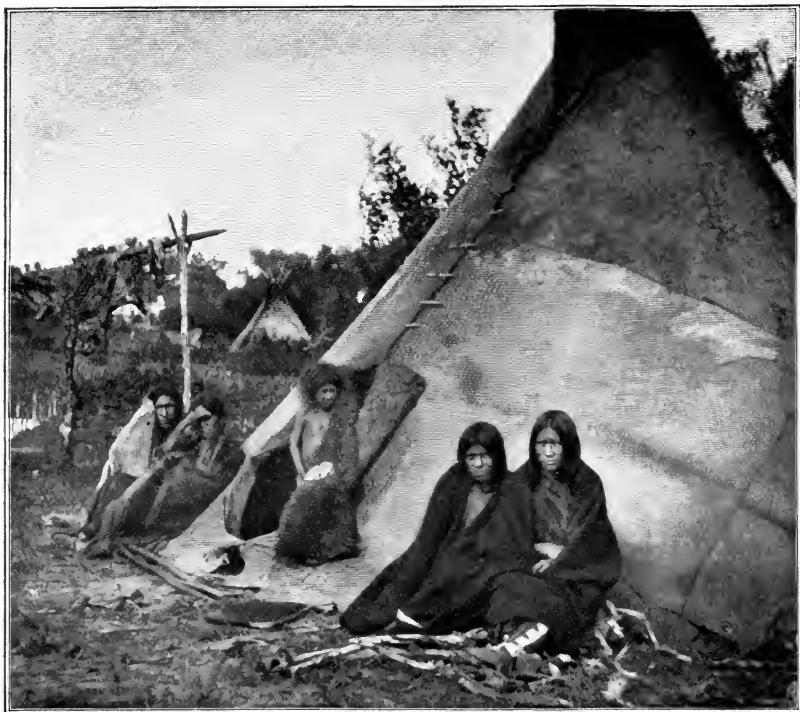
ality. Where everything is held in common, thrift and enterprise have no stimulus of reward, and thus individual progress is rendered very improbable, if not impossible. The starting-point of individualism for an Indian is the personal possession of his portion of the reservation. . . . In order to this first step, the survey and allotment in severalty of the lands belonging to the Indians must be provided for by congressional legislation."

The next year Commissioner Smith recommended providing for the Indians, first, a way into citizenship, and second, a land-tenure in severalty by allotment with an ultimate fee, but inalienable for a term of years. In 1876 Commissioner John Q. Smith repeated his predecessor's views. "It is doubtful," he said, "whether any high degree of civilization is possible without individual ownership of land. It seems to me a matter of great moment that provision should be made not only permitting, but requiring, the head of each Indian family to accept the allotment of a reasonable amount of land, to be the property of himself and his lawful heirs, in lieu of any interest in any common tribal possessions. Such allotments should be inalienable for at least twenty, perhaps fifty years, and if situated in a permanent Indian reservation, should be transferrable only among Indians."

So, too, the annual report of Commissioner E. A. Hayt, for 1877, put as fundamental to Indian civilization, "Endowment of the Indians with lands, divided into farms of convenient size, the title to which shall be vested in individuals and inalienable for twenty years; and the promotion in every feasible way of the knowledge of agriculture and a taste for agricultural pursuits among them."

The same officer a year later again urged the importance to the Indians "of a uniform and perfect title to their lands," and continued: "The constant removals incident to the former land policy of the Indian service have been freighted with evil consequences to the Indians. Even when placed upon reser-

COMMISSIONER HAYT'S REPORT



A TYPICAL INDIAN CAMP

ventions they have come to consider, notwithstanding the most solemn guarantees from the United States that the same should be kept sacred and remain theirs forever, that the title to their land is without permanency, and that they are subject to be removed whenever the pressure of white settlers upon them may create a demand for their lands either before Congress or the Department. So fixed has this opinion become among the more civilized tribes, that in the main they decline to make any improvements upon their lands, even after an allotment in severalty has been made, until they have received their patents for the same. The Secretary of the Interior should be authorized by a law applicable to all the tribes to allot the lands in such reservations among the Indians belonging thereon, and to issue patents therefor without the right to sell,

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

mortgage, lease or otherwise alienate the same for the term of twenty-five years. Such an act would, I am satisfied, afford to the Indians the degree of protection necessary to their civilization and lead them gradually to a full comprehension of the rights, privileges, duties and responsibilities of American citizenship, which I shall hope to see accorded them whenever in the future they may become fully competent."

In 1879 Commissioner Hoyt embodied his views in a bill introduced in the Forty-fifth Congress. Similar measures appeared in each succeeding Congress until the Forty-ninth, which in February, 1887, enacted the so-called "General Allotment," or "Dawes" Act.* This measure authorized the President, through special agents, to allot in severalty to Indians thereon located any reservation land considered fit for agriculture and grazing. Each head of a family to receive one-quarter of a section, each other adult one-eighth of a section. Orphan children and minors were also provided for. The Indians themselves were to select the land. Such Indians as lived outside the limits of a reservation or claimed no tribal relationship might also receive land under this law. To each allottee the United States was to issue a patent, pledging itself to hold the land in trust for a period of twenty-five years. Any conveyance or contract made during this period, touching the allotments, was null and void. At the end of this time the land was to be conveyed to the allottee.

The Act constituted any Indian born within the limits of the United States to whom any allotment of land was made, or who had adopted the habits of civilized life, a citizen of the United States. The rights and duties of every allottee, it was declared, were to be regulated by the civil and criminal laws of the state or territory in which he resided. Four years later, upon recommendation of the Indian Office, the law was modified so as to give each member of a tribe an equal quantity of land. By the amended law one-eighth of a section was speci-

* 24 United States Statutes, 388.

METHOD OF ALLOTMENT

fied for all allotments, though if the extent of the reservation was sufficient a larger allotment might be made. In cases approved by the Secretary of the Interior allotments might be leased. The new law also embodied regulations regarding the descent of land to the heirs of a deceased Indian.

CHAPTER XII

THE SOUTH AND THE NEGRO IN THE LIGHT OF THE ELEVENTH CENSUS

THE "NEW SOUTH."—EVENTS DENOTING GOOD FEELING BETWEEN SOUTH AND NORTH.—DEDICATION OF THE CHICKAMAUGA MILITARY PARK.—THE GEN. LYTLE BUTTON INCIDENT.—THE PARADE.—THE COTTON STATES AND INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION.—OPENING.—THE ADDRESSES.—BOOKER T. WASHINGTON'S SPEECH.—PROCEEDINGS TELEGRAPHED TO PRESIDENT CLEVELAND.—HIS REPLY.—THE MACHINERY SET IN MOTION FROM GRAY GABLES.—ATLANTA'S EFFORT IN ORIGINATING THE EXPOSITION.—GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS.—SUCCESS.—THE NEGRO BUILDING.—THE EXPOSITION'S REVELATIONS OF SOUTHERN PROSPERITY.—BACKWARDNESS IN SECTIONS.—THREE BLACK BELTS.—ILL-SUCCESS OF THE NEGRO AS A FARMER.—JEWS AND NEGROES.—PROGRESS OF THE SOUTH AT LARGE.—COMPARED WITH THE WEST.—THE SOUTH IN 1860, 1870, AND 1880.—MATERIAL PROGRESS BETWEEN 1880 AND 1890.—IN AGRICULTURE.—IN MANUFACTURES.—IN MINING.—VAST UNDEVELOPED RESOURCES.—THE NEW SOUTH CREATED BY SOUTHERN MEN.—CHARACTER OF THE SOUTHERN WHITES.—THEIR RESOLUTION.—THEIR PATRIOTISM.—TREATMENT OF THE DRINK QUESTION.—SOUTH CAROLINA DISPENSARY SYSTEM.—EFFECTUAL PROHIBITION.—REACTION AGAINST LYNCHING.—DREADFUL DIFFICULTY OF THE RACE QUESTION.—WHITE SUPREMACY AT THE POLLS ATTAINED.—ACQUIESCENCE.—CODDLING OF THE NEGRO DEPRECATED.—UNDOUBTED BRIGHTNESS OF THE AFRICAN RACE.—THE DEFECTS OF THAT RACE.—IMMORALITY.—LACK OF ORIGINALITY.—LITTLE PERSISTENCE.—GOOD WORK UNDER OVERSEERS.—WHITES MULTIPLY MORE RAPIDLY THAN BLACKS.—CERTAIN DISTRICTS OFFER AN EXCEPTION.—NEGRO MORTALITY.—BLACK MIGRATION FROM THE HIGHLANDS TO THE LOWLANDS.—FROM COUNTRY TO CITY.—FUTURE OF THE RACE.—INTENSIFIED COMPETITION FROM WHITE IMMIGRANTS.—DYING OFF OF THE LAST SLAVEHOLDER GENERATION.—SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS TO THE BLACK MAN.

IN the midst of the war, while Port Royal, South Carolina, was in possession of the Northern forces, a paper called *The New South* was established there by General Adam Badeau. The name, thus originated, anticipated by a dozen dark years the happy phenomenon to which it is now applied. Events of 1895 strikingly brought before the people the sig-

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

nificance of the New South, and its harmony with the rest of the Republic. The era of good feeling could perhaps be formally dated from Memorial Day, 1895, when a Confederate monument was dedicated at Chicago. It was well signalized by several almost simultaneous events: the assembling of the Grand Army of the Republic at Louisville, Ky., the encampment of the Sons of Confederate Veterans at Knoxville, Tenn., the dedication of the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park and the opening of the Atlanta Exposition.

The National Military Park was dedicated on September 19, though the 18th and the 20th as well were filled with ceremonies. The purchase and construction of the Park had been authorized by Congress in 1890, the Government expending therefor three-quarters of a million dollars, the States of



THE CHICKAMAUGA NATIONAL MILITARY PARK

Looking East from the Widow Glenn House

THE CHICKAMAUGA MILITARY PARK



Near Widow Glenn House, Looking North Toward Bloody Pond

Georgia and Tennessee half a million more. The ground thus consecrated embraced about ten square miles, through and around which twenty miles of broad roadway had been built, and as much again projected. Five tall observation towers made possible an almost perfect view of the battlefields of Chickamauga and Missionary Ridge. An immense speakers' stand for the celebration had been erected on Snodgrass Hill, the centre of perhaps the most terrific fighting ever witnessed on this continent. Many notables were present, among them Vice-President Stevenson, who presided, Secretaries Herbert and Smith, Attorney-General Harmon and Postmaster-General Wilson. Governors Oates of Alabama, Atkinson of Georgia, Altgeld of Illinois, Matthews of Indiana, Morrill of Kansas, Greenhalge of Massachusetts, Rich of Michigan, Holcomb of Nebraska, Werts of New Jersey, Morton of New York, McKinley of Ohio, Turney of Tennessee and

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



Group of Monuments on Knoll Southwest of Snodgrass Hill

Woodbury of Vermont were also in attendance, as were Generals Alger, Lew Wallace, Schofield, Howard, Longstreet and Gordon. To the regret of all, age and infirmity prevented General Rosecrans from being present. Speaker Crisp, of the National House of Representatives, also Senators Palmer, Manderson, Bate and Blackburn, and Congressmen Wheeler, Grosvenor and Turner, besides a long list of other eminent gentlemen, honored the occasion by attending.

On the 18th a hundred monumental tablets were dedicated, marking and describing the successive positions of troops on the field during the fighting. There were reunions of Northern and of Southern troops, and of Northern with Southern. A belt line of railroad built for the occasion accommodated the hosts of old soldiers and their friends. One of the pleasing incidents connected with the reunion occurred when General Gordon, holding up his hand, said: "I have here a button, veneered over with blood, taken from the coat of the poet-soldier, Brigadier-General William Haines Lytle, the author

ATLANTA'S EXPOSITION IN 1895

of 'I am dying, Egypt, dying!'^{*} after he had fallen, September 20, 1863, leading a charge on this immortal field." General Gordon thereupon presented the precious relic to Attorney-General Harmon, like General Lytle, a resident of Cincinnati. Mr. Harmon subsequently gave it to a nephew of General Lytle, who was found to be present.

On September 20 there was a parade, led by Regular Troops, the 17th United States Infantry. Next came the 11th Regiment, Ohio National Guard, Governor McKinley riding at its head. The Tennessee forces followed, among them a company from Memphis, dressed in Confederate uniforms and bearing old-time muskets. This troop elicited more applause than any other feature of the parade.

The Cotton States and International Exposition was inaugurated at Atlanta, Ga., on September 18, 1895. It was a holiday in the city, made merry by streamers, bunting and a good-humored American crowd, to which the negroes in it imparted almost its only Southern tinge. The opening ceremonies at the auditorium were brilliant and protracted. Victor Herbert's band convulsed every one when it played a medley of "The Red, White and Blue," "Dixie," and "Yankee Doodle." Then there was another medley of rebel yells and Yankee shouts. On the platform sat the directors, President Collier occupying the place of honor, near him Mrs. Joseph Thompson, President of the Woman's Board. Distinguished visitors and guests of the Exposition were present in numbers, among them the colored educator, Booker T. Washington, President of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. The opening prayer, by Bishop Nelson, was followed by addresses from President Collier and Mrs. Thompson. Judge Emory Speer delivered a scholarly oration. But Mr. Washington made the speech of the day. When he arose he was greeted with applause, and each of his telling points elicited

^{*} The poem is entitled "Antony to Cleopatra," and may be found in Vol. viii. of Stedman and Hutchinson's *Library of American Literature*.

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

hearty recognition. He said, referring to the negroes' progress shown at the Fair: "You must not expect overmuch. Starting thirty years ago with the ownership here and there of a few quilts, pumpkins and chickens (gathered from miscellaneous sources), remember that the path which has led us from these to the invention and production of agricultural implements, buggies, steam engines, newspapers, books, statuary, carving, paintings, and the management of drug stores

and banks, has not been trodden without contact with thorns and thistles. While from representations in these buildings of the products of field, of forest, of mine, of factory, of letters and art, much good will come, yet far above and beyond material benefits will be that higher good that, let us pray God, will come in a blotting out of sectional differences and racial animosities and suspicions, and in the determination in even the remotest corner to administer absolute justice, in a willing obedience among all classes to the mandates of law, and a spirit that will tolerate nothing but the highest equity in the enforcement of law. This, this, coupled with our material prosperity, will bring to our beloved South a new heaven and a new earth."

Every detail of these introductory proceedings was telegraphed to President Cleveland at Gray Gables in Buzzards Bay, Mass. Ex-Governor Bullock, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, sent a message thanking Mr. Cleveland for his interest, approval and aid, and assuring him that the mingling of people about to occur would "render future ill-will between the sections impossible." At 5.30 President Cleveland telegraphed reply:

"Fully appreciating the value and importance of the

THE EXPOSITION INAUGURATED

exposition inaugurated to-day, I am especially gratified to be related to its inception and progress and to participate in its opening ceremonies. I sincerely congratulate those whose enterprise and energy have accomplished such splendid results, and heartily wish that the exposition they have set on foot may be completely successful in consummating all the good results contemplated by its promoters."

The President was seated in his gun-room, with his family and his private secretary. A button communicating with Atlanta rested on a small shelf by the window. It was of black rubber with a small solid gold band around the edge, and bore the inscription "Marian Cleveland, September 18, 1895." As the President's young daughter pressed the button the gates of the Exposition at Atlanta swung open, and, amid booming cannon, shrieking whistles, buzzing machinery and cheering multitudes, its life began.

Atlanta was the only city of its size in the world which had ever undertaken so vast an enterprise. With only about



NIGHT VIEW OF THE ATLANTA EXPOSITION

From a photograph by Howe

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

100,000 inhabitants, forty per cent. of them negroes, it set on foot and carried to completion, in dull business times and soon after the World's Columbian Fair, an Exposition which outdid the California Midwinter Fair of 1893-'94, the New Orleans Exposition of 1884, and even the Centennial, being among American exhibitions second only to the World's Columbian at Chicago. The buildings and grounds were in admirable taste. Chicago had taught the world that water and green-sward are the diamonds and emeralds of a fine landscape. The Atlanta grounds proved that this lesson had been well learned. From the entrance the eye took in the whole group of buildings, not colossal, but commodious and beautiful. Only seven States—New York, Pennsylvania, Massa-



THE WOMAN'S BUILDING AT ATLANTA

From a photograph by Howe

chusetts, Illinois, California, Alabama and Georgia—were represented by State buildings. The Northern attendance was good, Chicago sending one excursion 2,500 strong, yet on the whole far fewer passed the gates than had been expected; only 1,200,000 in the fifty-four days. The Atlanta managers,

EVIDENCES OF A "NEW SOUTH"

with commendable public spirit, repeatedly supplied deficiencies out of their own pockets. The negroes were given every encouragement to contribute exhibits in their department, and the "Negro Building" showed surprising and universally observed evidences of progress on the part of the colored race.

The Exposition would have been worth all it cost had it had no other effect than to assure the South itself and the rest of the world touching the rapid advance of that section in the main elements of prosperity. What the Eleventh Census had put down in figures exhibits at Atlanta propounded in impressive object lessons, not to be forgotten.

There were indeed sections where nothing as yet bespoke a New South; where unthrift and decay incessantly



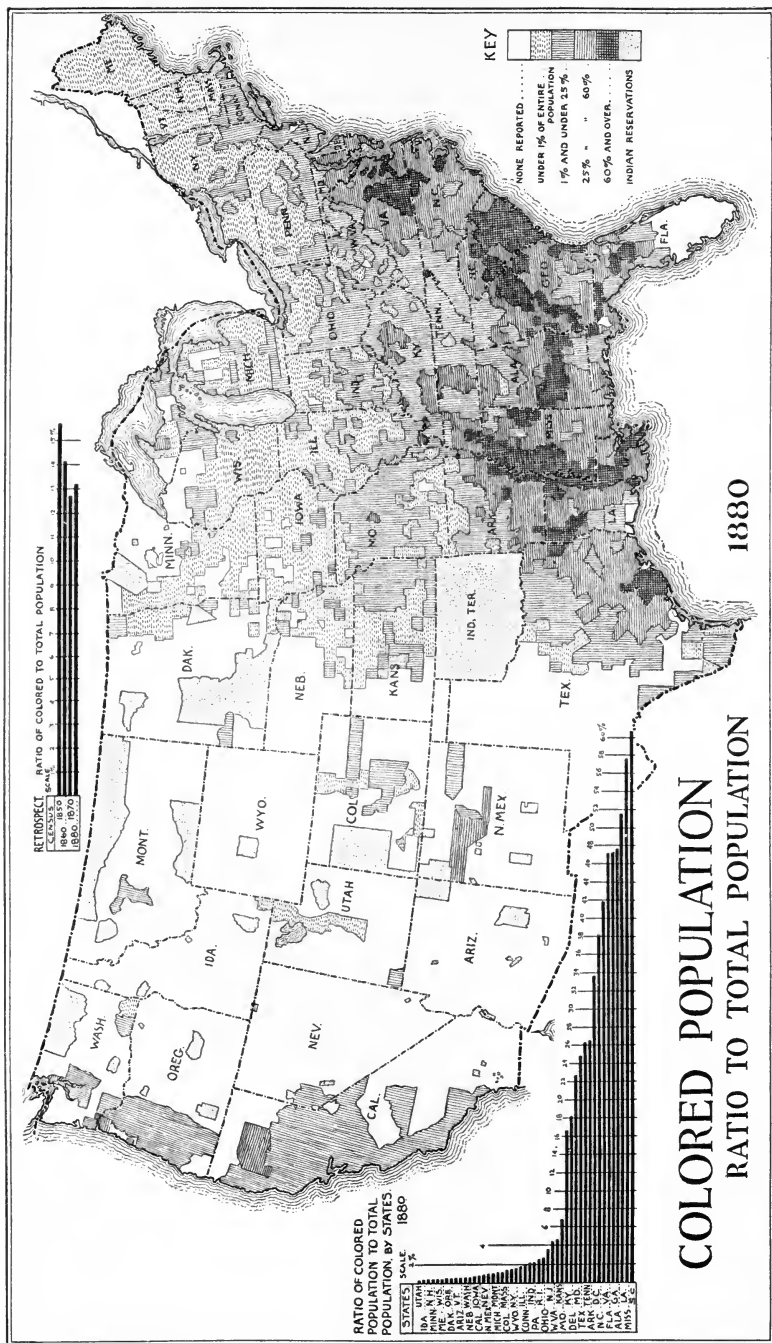
THE ART BUILDING
From a photograph by Howe

reminded, not exactly, indeed, of the Old South, but of something far worse, of the darkest days succeeding the war. These sections were the black belts. One belt of black majority counties, averaging about a hundred miles wide, ran between the coast and the highlands, spotted in the northeast with

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

white counties, in South Carolina and Florida touching the coast. The water-shed of the State of Mississippi, running north and south, sundered this from the second black belt. Starting just above New Orleans, this extended up the Mississippi, some one hundred and twenty-five miles wide, to Tennessee, and up the Red River, perhaps forty miles wide, to Arkansas and Texas. Fifteen counties of Texas, with 82,310 white and 126,297 black inhabitants, formed a third, small, black belt.

In the black belt plantations things were as yet very backward. The deterioration and decline which war began had hardly been stayed. The old slaves could not at once become good hirelings. Their minds were too much occupied with political cares. Also the vision of "forty acres and a government mule" had been held up before them with fatal effect. "Free negro labor" the whites soon learned to look upon as a synonym for unfaithfulness and inefficiency. To work as a wage-laborer for a white man fixed upon a negro in the black territory the badge of social inferiority among his own kith and kin. The share system of farm labor, following the wages system, was unsatisfactory and usually gave way to the practice of tenancy from year to year. The whites, more generally than the negroes, abandoned country for town, which resulted in a system of absentee landlordism, even the old plantation houses being in some cases rented to negroes. The most shiftless and wasteful methods of farming were practiced, in sharp competition, too, with skillful white farming, in Texas and on the Gulf Coast. Jews driven from Russia, not having lost their absorbent disposition, settled in the black belt, and, by supplying the negroes with drink, baubles and cheap goods on trust, slowly got mortgages on their farms, mules, cows, hogs and furniture, reducing their victims to a state no better than slavery. Thus poverty and even destitution might be found where of old there was good living for all. The black belts, therefore, were not of the New South, but the remains of the



INCREASE IN PROPERTY VALUES

Old South. The case was analogous to that of the decline in so many old New England farms.

Abstracting from these retrograde communities, the progress of the South from 1880 to 1890 was phenomenal. Its development was in some respects more remarkable and gratifying than that of the West. The enormous land grants and subsidies to western railroads were a burden upon the whole country, the South included; while many such railroads as were built in the South after the war added to the direct debt of its worn and wasted commonwealths another debt of even greater magnitude. A prominent reconstruction governor attributed most of the evils of reconstruction times to railroad legislation, more heedless than corrupt, in which the United States, which could better afford it, had led the way.

In 1860 the assessed value of property in the South was \$5,200,000,000. The census of 1870 showed a decline of \$2,100,000,000, and that of 1880 another decline of \$300,000,000. In 1870 Massachusetts assessed her property at more than half the entire valuation of the South. New York and Pennsylvania then had more than the whole South. "The South in 1880 was burdened with debts, both State and private, its railroads in bad condition physically and financially, its manufacturing business very limited, its population largely in excess of any demand that could possibly exist for labor under the conditions prevailing, with but few banks and few strong friends in the great financial centres of the country."

From 1880 to 1890 the value of property in the South at large increased \$3,800,000,000, this being only \$100,000,000 less than the increase of the New England and Middle States combined. Moreover, it was a 50 per cent. increase against one of 22 per cent. on the part of those states. Southern farm assets increased 37 per cent. against an average increase in the other states and territories of 30 per cent. Southern farm products increased 16 per cent., while those of the rest of the country increased but 9 per cent. The gross

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY



A GROVE OF ORANGES AND COCOANUTS NEAR ORMOND, FLORIDA

From a photograph by W. H. Jackson

return on the agricultural capital invested in the South was nearly twice as great as that from the same source in the other sections. After the fall in the price of cotton consequent upon Old World competition and the vast crop of 1890, the South's grain crop came to exceed her cotton crop, Texas leading in both wheat and corn.

Fully fifty varieties of sub-tropical trees which grew nowhere else in the Union adorned Florida's keys and coasts. The State bade fair to rival Louisiana in the production of sugar, and South Carolina in that of rice, as well as one day to supply the entire American demand for cocoanuts. The mulberry was indigenous to every part of this new Eden, which may, therefore, at no late date become an immense producer of raw silk. Cattle fed and fattened everywhere with-

MANUFACTURES

out shelter, in winter as in summer. Market gardening for the North was profitable, particularly in the line of early and semi-tropical fruits. It was found that a zone across the entire South in the latitude of Atlanta produced the finest of apples in unlimited quantities. Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Texas reared innumerable horses, cattle and sheep of the best breeds.

Manufactured products were of even greater consequence than agricultural, exceeding them in value by \$140,000,000. During the decade manufacturing investments at the South increased 156 per cent. as against 120.76 per cent. for the country at large. The products doubled, while those of the whole land increased but 69.27 per cent.

The following table shows the growth of cotton manufacturing in the Southern States between 1880 and 1894:

| | 1880. | 1890. | 1894. |
|-----------------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| Capital, | \$21,976,713 | \$61,124,096 | \$107,900,000 |
| Number of Mills, | 180 | 254 | 425 |
| Number of Spindles, | 667,754 | 1,712,930 | 3,023,000 |
| Number of Looms, | 14,323 | 39,231 | 68,000 |
| Value of Product, | \$21,038,712 | \$46,971,503 | |

To manufacture the entire cotton crop would require many times the investment of 1894. However, a smaller and smaller proportion of cotton went away to be wrought. New England capital was extensively used to rear cotton factories at the South, and the coarser cotton fabrics from the South were in competition at Lowell with goods made at that place. In 1895 a committee of the Massachusetts Legislature went South to investigate the significance of these facts.

Cottonseed, long considered a waste product, having proved to yield a valuable oil, in 1895 between 250 and 300 mills were at work in the South reducing the seed, and they consumed annually more than a million tons of it. This industry developed valuable by-products, among them oil, meal and cakes, and ingredients used in the manufacture of paper, soap and gas.

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The grist mills of Richmond were making from Southern wheat the only brand of flour sure to cross the equator without spoiling.

In 1880 the South produced 397,301 tons of pig iron; in 1893, spite of the business depression, the section put out 1,567,000 tons. Her coal crop in the year last named was nearly 28,000,000, one-sixth of the whole country's product. In 1880 it had been but 6,048,000 tons.

Iron furnaces, pipe works, rolling mills, box-car and car-wheel shops, characterized the rich northern section of Alabama. On one side of Birmingham rose a mountain of iron fifty miles long, on the other lay a vast coal field; near at hand stood another mountain of limestone suitable for fluxing. Northern Alabama and tracts immediately adjacent contained coal fields sufficient, at the present rate of consumption, to supply the world for 150 years. Alabama was next to



A LOUISIANA SUGAR-CANE PLANTATION

From a photograph by W. H. Jackson

A COUNTRY OF UNLIMITED RESOURCES



A SOUTH CAROLINA COTTON FIELD
From a photograph by W. H. Jackson

Pennsylvania in coke producing, and next to Ohio and Pennsylvania in her yield of pig iron.

The more the South produced the clearer did it become that there were unlimited productive resources behind. Vast as were the forests of the great Northwest, more than half the country's standing timber was to be found in the South, much of it of the hard-wood varieties. Yellow pine the section possessed in exhaustless stores. A tract of country reaching from West Virginia to Northern Alabama, being roughly 700 miles long by 150 or 200 wide, contained a greater concentration of mineral and timber wealth than any other equal area in America or Europe. The conditions for its profitable development were ideal. On one side of the tract named grew cotton, fruit, truck and yellow pine, ready to be exchanged for the coal, iron and hard-woods of the upper country. On the other side lay the rich and populous prairie States, affording an almost unlimited market for all the products of the timber and mineral ridge.

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Tennessee, Alabama and Texas were rich in marble and all building stones. The best of asphalt was to be mined in Alabama at a dollar a ton. South Carolina annually yielded three million dollars' worth of phosphate rock, while similar deposits lay along the coast from North Carolina to Florida, and even on the gulf. Western Virginia, eastern Tennessee, and central Kentucky were rich in limestones. First-class gypsum was found in Virginia in seams six hundred feet thick. Salt, petroleum, aluminum, mica, topaz and gold appeared here and there in paying quantities. Rain rarely failed the farmer, or water-power the manufacturer. Nearly the whole South, save the mountains, was penetrated by navigable streams, being thus potentially independent of railroads.

If it was a Northerner who so named the "New South," the New South itself was essentially the creation of Southern men. The whites of the South were a virile race. Slavery had kept them from developing or revealing their powers. The purest Saxon-Norman blood in the world probably ran in their veins. The best traits of the English stock: initiative, firmness, perseverance, patience, pride, thrift, morality, were theirs in an eminent degree. Long misunderstood and distrusted at the North, with large debt and little credit, politics about them a boiling maelstrom, a war of races on their hands, difficulties which beset in like pressure no other section of our people, they did not despair or falter, but went earnestly to work to make the South a worthy home for themselves and their posterity. The deathless resolution with which this enterprise was pushed to success added an incalculable enrichment to American history.

With the rarest exceptions, few of these being men, the Southern people had become enthusiastically loyal. A German shopkeeper in a far Southern city, one July 4th, ran up in front of his place the German and the American flag, the German uppermost. An ex-Confederate captain forthwith waited upon

SOUTHERN PATRIOTISM AND CHARACTER

the man, giving him just five minutes in which to place the Stars and Stripes on top. In another city a young school-master, educated at the North, fearing offense should he display the United States flag over his school-house on the National Anniversary, concluded not to do so. What was his chagrin when the morning came to see the emblem floating above nearly every other public building in town. Listening suspiciously to the addresses, some formal, others wholly impromptu, of Confederate veterans at their camp fires, a Northern soldier failed to mark a single sentiment to which, as a patriot, he could take exception.

Nor could you justly question the patriotism of a Southerner if you chanced to hear him praising Jefferson Davis. His thought would be that in 1861 the compact theory of the Union according to which a State might secede at its will, had never been authoritatively declared false. Then, therefore, a citizen could secede with his State and not be a traitor, believing himself to be acting under the Constitution and not contrary thereto. Only the stern arbitrament of war, he would say, set aside the compact theory, making secession under the Constitution impossible and absurd.

The morality of the Southern people came out in their serious treatment of the drink question. The South Carolina dispensary system was the most advanced liquor legislation yet seen in any country. Probably unsuited to a constituency made up largely of cities, for the agricultural States it was a model. The other Southern Commonwealths nearly all passed local option laws, under which the country counties steadfastly voted "dry." In no case was such a vote a dead letter. A man undertaking to sell liquor in a "dry" county was in the first instance admonished. This always sufficed, except with strangers. If the adventurer persisted after being warned, he was either run out or shot. In consequence of this vigorous policy prohibition was sweepingly successful. In Arkansas, in 1895, there were said to be not above six coun-

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

ties—the “wet” counties—where strong drink could be found on sale. The situation elsewhere corresponded.

Healthily remembering that “the law” can have no “sacredness” which does not proceed from the will of the people, Southerners were long too prone to avenge crime by summary appeals to the popular will. Right public sentiment on this subject asserted itself, however, more and more, at last finding voice in the South Carolina Constitution of 1895. The sixth section, Article VI., of that instrument provides that, when a prisoner lawfully in charge of any officer, is taken from such officer’s hands by his negligence, permission or connivance, the officer, upon true bill found, shall be deposed from his office pending trial, and if convicted, shall forfeit his office. Unless pardoned by the Governor, he is forever ineligible to any office of trust or profit in the State. The same section lays down that in all cases of fatal lynching the county in which it occurs is liable to the legal representatives of the lynched person in exemplary damages of not less than \$2,000. This was a novelty in American law.

Far angriest among the numerous perplexities confronting the Southern people in their struggle were those presented by the presence of the colored race. Over large domains, as we have seen, and in some entire States, these formed a majority of the population. The means used to deprive of political control the majorities in such constituencies, and to keep them from regaining such, have been repeatedly referred to in the course of this History. The conflict was bitter but the victory complete, won by means whose result, unlike their nature, was never doubtful. The supremacy regained was retained partly by the same appliances as were first employed in Mississippi and South Carolina by the operation of adroitly framed Constitutions. Every Southern white, no matter how much he might in theory disapprove the methods, insisted that the end sought and attained, the maintenance of white supremacy, was patriotic and righteous in the extreme, as important for

NEGRO VIEWS OF NEGROES

blacks as for whites. Every white man in the South would die rather than submit to the horrors certain to attend negro ascendancy.

The negroes more and more became resigned to this subjection—the ordinary from lack of spirit, the knowing ones from conviction. In his Atlanta Exposition address, Booker T. Washington said, “The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extreme folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing.”

The brightest Afro-Americans also deprecated the willingness of their race to be coddled. The *New York Age*, a paper published in the interest of the colored people, said: “We have got to stop complaining about lack of opportunity and make the most of such opportunity as presents itself. When no opportunity presents itself, turn to and turn up opportunity. . . . We complain of lack of opportunity to make money when we squander millions every year on humbugs. Dollars count, but we do not hold on to the dollars; hence we are constantly passing the mendicant hat to support our own institutions and receiving a small check and a kick at the same time. We do not support our own enterprises, and then we complain because white men who receive our patronage refuse to give honorable employment to our girls and boys. Let us stop howling and saw more wood.”

Rendering the blacks politically innocuous simply relieved the race problem of its most threatening phase. Still were left swarming everywhere the enormous caravans of blacks, indolent and the fertile source of defective population, pauperism and crime, with no promise of essential change for the better.

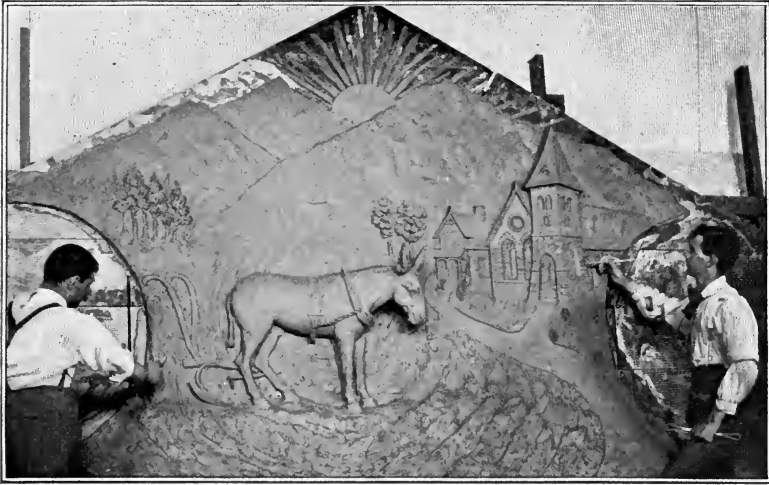
No argument was required, especially after the display of negroes' work at Atlanta, to show that the colored race was bright. In every art, craft, knack, trick, lesson, which could

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

be mastered by imitation, plenty of negroes would be found to excel. Among them were some equal to every demand of skilled artisanship. They made capital vocalists, actors, public speakers. In book learning, too, in the classics, in mathematics, or in science, they had but to keep the beaten path to reach with firm foot quite recondite fields.

While all this was true, there were three precious elements of character, devotion to principle, initiative, whether theoretical or practical, and power of endurance, mental or physical, in purpose or in deed, wherein the colored race seemed radically deficient. In each of the particulars named the defect appeared to be a genuine racial idiosyncrasy, not explicable by the people's previous condition of servitude. Truly grand negro characters there were, men of gold, firm in every virtue, admirable, an honor to humanity; yet the drift of the race in reference to principles of conduct, left these splendid instances to appear sporadic and phenomenal. All over the South the negroes almost to a man voted for "free rum" often as the liquor question came up. A "protracted meeting" of colored Christians being in progress in one of the South Carolina Counties, the weather changed and fire was needed. Ample fuel was at hand in the neighboring woods, to be had free of cost, for the mere effort of "toting" it. Declining this chance, the brethren, apparently without the slightest compunction, raided a white neighbor's fences, laying them low for a long distance. An observant Northern Doctor of Divinity, fifteen years resident in one of the largest Southern cities, knowing the colored people of his city thoroughly, and cherishing for them the kindest feelings, gave it as his candid opinion that not more than one of the numerous colored clergymen of the city lived chastely. In the class-rooms of colored colleges one could not but sigh over the fatal ease with which pupils, even the brightest, missed the essential points of nearly every discussion. In the Lyceum whole evenings often passed away amid loud wrangling over frivolous points of order, the question

BLACKS IN THE SOUTH



CARVING THE DECORATIONS FOR THE NEGRO BUILDING AT THE ATLANTA EXPOSITION

From a photograph by Howe

given out for debate being quite forgotten. Referring to the absence of originality and serious purpose in the negro mind, one of the ablest men in the South, perfectly conversant with negro character, yet wholly free from Southerners' prejudices, uttered the emphatic judgment that an isolated community of colored people, however well civilized and educated, would be unequal to the task of self-government, and would lapse into barbarism within two generations.

Outside the three colored tracts referred to above, the blacks formed, in 1890, a minority in every county of the South. The whites also increased on the whole far more swiftly than the blacks. In the great eastern black belt where there were 1,800,000 whites to 2,700,000 blacks, the whites multiplied nearly twice as rapidly as the blacks. The Gulf Coast white belt was an exception. Both races there underwent a heavy increase, the blacks gaining about 29 per cent., the whites about a third as much. Also the Mississippi and Red River bottoms revealed a gain on the part of the Africans of over a fifth, while the whites' growth was only a seventh.

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

Alarming mortality among negroes vastly retarded their increase. Dr. Gourdin DeSaussier, of Charleston, S. C., in 1895, obtained statistics showing that in that city, from 1880 to 1887, out of an average negro population of 28,730 there were 8,932 deaths, or about 31 per cent; and from 1887 to 1894, out of an average population of 34,691, 9,604 deaths, or about 28 per cent. Syphilitic and consumptive diseases were the most fatal. For the fourteen years there were 18,536 deaths to 13,010 births. Among the whites for the first period, "with about the same population," the deaths were 3,895, the births 3,854.

The negro betrayed slight disposition to wander far from his original seat; yet the decade 1880-90 witnessed on his part a few articulate movements. He tended to drift southward and westward, and from the highlands to the lowlands. Spite of this, however, 1890 saw more blacks north of Mason and Dixon's line than were ever there before. The proportion then to total population was 8.79 per cent. as against 5.46 in 1860. Kentucky, the western half of Virginia, and north-eastern Mississippi suffered an absolute decrease of colored inhabitants. So, outside the principal cities, did Tennessee, Maryland, northern Alabama and eastern Virginia. The people of color resembled the whites in a decided *penchant* for removing from country to city. Louisville gained 8,000, and three



DECORATIONS FOR THE NEGRO

Head of Slave

From photographs

FUTURE OF THE COLORED RACE

smaller cities of Kentucky 2,000. Chattanooga, Nashville and Knoxville, Tenn., gained 24,000—nearly twice as much as the State at large. Baltimore gained 13,000—more than twice as much as Maryland. The county containing Birmingham, Ala., received 27,089 of the 47,987 accessions to northern Alabama. So, in the first black belt, the cities generally outstripped the country in number of negro accessions. One-half the negro growth of eastern North Carolina and of Florida was in the cities. In Georgia little less than a third of the colored increase could be credited to the four principal cities.

The future of the colored race no one could predict with certainty. In 1790 Africans formed perhaps 19.3 per cent. of the United States population. The percentage in 1860 was 14.1. The census of 1870 reduced this figure to 12.7, when

many rushed to the conclusion that these people might, in no long time, vanish from our land. The census of 1880 dispelled that fancy, raising the percentage again to 13.1, while that of 1890 raised it to 13.5. African increase from 1880 to 1890 was 13.11 per cent., about half that attained by people of the other hue. Even should decrease be resumed, the



BUILDING AT ATLANTA

Head of Fred. Douglass

by Howe

colored people would be at least eight or ten per cent. of our total population in 1900. As the climatic area where they have any advantages over whites in the fight of life is less than this per cent., their success in this struggle would of

THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY

course depend on their power to compete with the rival blood in higher callings than hand labor. Great crowds of men were pressing in from the North, while, more significant, foreigners had heard of the rare possibilities presented for acquiring homes in all parts of the South, and were coming in immense numbers to put the reports to the proof. These new comers were sure more and more to disuse sentiment in dealing with the negro. No form of labor would be left him unless he had special skill in it, nor was his tenure in all cases assured even by skill.

At the same time, the negro's best friends on earth, the conscientious men and women who had formerly owned slaves, were fast dying off. The genuine love felt by old Southerners of the better class toward their bondmen was a touching phenomenon, never appreciated at the North. Master and mistress looked upon their black people with a truly parental regard, much like that which fathers and mothers always experience toward children ill-endowed mentally. All over the South, in the old days, had lived noble men and women who stood in this tender attitude toward the colored members of their households. They sincerely and devotedly loved them. Younger white men and women who never owned slaves did not share this feeling. Friendly enough toward the negro, they cherished for him no sense of responsibility. The colored people knew this difference well. It was not to some Northern philanthropist that Pompey or Cuffy turned in desperate difficulty, nor yet to the kind-hearted young white gentleman, whom he might know to be friendly, but to Old Master and Old Mistress, if he could find them. They were sure to advise him well and to assist him if they could. The years that saw laid in their graves the last of that old slaveholder generation were thus a crisis in the future of the colored people.

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